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ABSTRACT

Papers in this serial on aspects of applied linguistics include: "An Investigation into Teachers' Attitudes to Using Literature in the Language Classroom" (Marie Gilroy); "Creating Multimedia Courseware for ESP" (Philip Goertzen, Ron Howard); "A Comparison of Listening and Speaking Tests for Student Placement" (Anne Heller, Tony Lynch, Linda Wright); "English/Japanese Professional Interpretation: Its Linguistic and Conceptual Problems" (Luli Ishikawa); "The Analysis of Wartime Reporting: Problems of Transitivity" (Noriko Iwamoto); "Aspects of Reference in Figurative Language" (Anne Pankhurst); and "Research To Inform Advanced FL Courses Involving Translation: An Immodest Proposal" (Brian Parkinson). (MSE)

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EDINBURGH WORKING PAPERS IN APPLIED LINGUISTICS

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Preface

EWPAL provides an annual update on some of the work being carried out in applied linguistics and language pedagogy by students and staff of the Department of Applied Linguistics and Institute for Applied Language Studies. Most 1995 contributors in fact teach and/or study at both these places. Of those writing as single authors, three are publishing here for the first time, including two who treble our all-time total of Japanese contributors. The two co-authored articles both feature a collaboration between 'old' and 'new' authors.

With the departure of Alan Davies from Edinburgh in March 1995, I have taken over as first editor, and have been responsible for all matters of general planning as well as many matters of detail. The new second editor, Keith Mitchell, has this year acted mainly as a reader for individual articles, but this duty has been unusually extensive and onerous, and several articles, some actually published here, others submitted but requiring revision and not yet published, have benefited from very detailed guidance and supervision on his part. The trend to more extensive revision and interaction with the 'readers' (informal referees) and editors is welcome, but all the writers, including myself, would like to stress that our efforts really are still 'working papers', and we would welcome suggestions, criticisms and even factual corrections from all readers of the journal.

As usual I would like to thank the members of the Editorial Board who have found time, some for the sixth successive year, to comment on manuscripts submitted. As well as Keith Mitchell these have included Cathy Benson, Marie Gilroy, Eric Glendinning, Tony Lynch, Joan Maclean, Dan Robertson and Liam Rodger.

I would also like to repair an omission in EWPAL 4 by belatedly thanking Tony Lynch for his work as founding editor of **EWPAL**. As well as producing Issues 1 to 3, he handed over to me a whole range of 'up-and-running systems' which have made my job relatively easy.

Thanks also go to my IALS colleague Lesley Quigg for turning contributors' 'final' versions into these published papers, and to Ray Harris and his colleagues at the Reprographics Department of the University of Edinburgh.

Brian Parkinson

May 1995

AN INVESTIGATION INTO TEACHERS' ATTITUDES TO USING LITERATURE IN THE LANGUAGE CLASSROOM

Marie Gilroy (IALS)

Abstract

This paper reports on teachers' attitudes to the use of literature in the EFL classroom. The study was designed to explore teachers' thoughts and feelings about using this resource given its increasing prominence in published materials, in particular to find out what background knowledge, skills and qualities are required to exploit the resource effectively and whether any specialist training in the teaching of literature is needed. To explore this, an interview schedule was drawn up and interviews conducted with 20 teachers on various courses at IALS. It was found that although many of the teachers did not feel the need for a specialist course in literature for EFL, most of them would welcome more background knowledge to increase their confidence in handling literary text. The paper examines the reasons for this and concludes with some suggestions for teacher development in this area.

1. Introduction

After a long absence, literature has made a comeback into many EFL classrooms, having been expelled along with the grammar-translation method. Structural, functional and notional approaches seemed to find no place for literature, but in recent years it has become difficult to ignore it, appearing as it does in so many published materials.

Many reasons for introducing literature into the communicative language teaching syllabus have been put forward. Collie and Slater (1987) suggest four main reasons: that it offers valuable authentic material, cultural enrichment, language enrichment and personal involvement. Similarly, Carter and Long (1991) categorise the reasons under three headings, namely, the cultural model, the language model and the personal growth model, each of which embraces a particular set of learning objectives for students. As well as providing motivating material, literature also helps to develop students' interpretative abilities (Lazar 1993). Duff and Maley (1990) point out the authenticity and seriousness of literary texts, which offer genuine samples of a very wide range of styles, registers and text-types dealing with non-trivial matters to which learners can bring a personal response from their own experience. They also note that because literary texts are open to multiple interpretations, this provides 'a ready-made opinion gap between one individual's interpretation and another's' which 'can be bridged by genuine interaction'. (1990: 6) To these considerations can be added Ezra Pound's statement that 'Literature is news that STAYS news' (1951:29), which highlights the enduring quality of literature as well as the fact that it can provide a convenient source of material for teachers which does not become stale in the way that yesterday's news can.

However, in spite of all these praiseworthy reasons, it seems that literature presents a problem for many language teachers who voice concern about introducing it into the classroom. In their introductions to teachers' and students' books which make use of literature, several authors have shown themselves to be aware of teachers' attitudes, as some of the following remarks show.

According to Duff and Maley, 'teachers and students view poetry with feelings ranging from slight misgivings to downright dislike' (1989:6). Collie and Slater ask whether we should be teaching literature in the foreign language classroom at a pre-university level, or not. 'This is a question which is certainly at the forefront of debate today, yet it remains controversial and the attitude of many teachers ambivalent' (1987:1-2). Carter and Long have noted in recent years 'an uneasy relationship between the teaching of English language and the teaching of English literature' (1987: 2-3), while John McRae states that:

> Many language teachers have told me that they feel inadequate when faced with 'literature', either because they have no 'literary' qualification or because they have not studied literature since their university days. Others leap in enthusiastically because they enjoyed studying literature because they read a lot, or because it seems like fun. (1991:9)

He cites several comments from teachers:

> 'I'm not a literature person.'
> 'I don't know anything about literature.'
> 'I'm not into that sort of thing.'

which, he says, leads to a kind of Who's afraid of *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* ' (1991:9).

Apart from this anecdotal evidence, it would seem that little, if any, research into teachers' attitudes to using literature in the language classroom has been undertaken. Informal staffroom discussions with colleagues have also revealed what might be termed a sense of unease about using literature in the language classroom. I personally am enthusiastic about literature, which I believe provides a valuable resource in EFL. Not only can it be used to expand students' awareness of language by exposing them to many varieties of English, it can provide a stimulus for language acquisition in terms of vocabulary development and the internalising of grammar patterns. In the form of creative and imaginative stimulus, it encourages students to give their own response which they can discuss with others. However, the sense of unease some teachers appear to feel towards the use of literature provided the motivation for this study.

2. Aims

The aim of this study was to explore EFL teachers' attitudes to, and present practices in, using literature as a resource, including whether they consider that any special training is needed and what background knowledge, skills and qualities they think would help to exploit this resource effectively. Teachers were also asked to reflect on the nature of literary language and how it differs from other language varieties.

3. Research Procedure

The survey of teachers' attitudes was conducted by means of an interview schedule and involved 20 participants.

3.1 Sample

The convenience sample of 20 native speaker teachers included 15 permanent and temporary staff members at IALS, two PhD candidates at the Department of Applied Linguistics (DAL), and three candidates on a 10-week RSA/DTEFLA teacher training course at IALS.

In order to include as wide a range of teachers as possible, the teachers were selected according to their first degree qualification to include a variety of academic backgrounds, i.e. not only in English literature and/or language. Some of these teachers had also voiced apprehensions about using literature in the

language classroom. However, I tried to exclude those teachers associated with literature courses and who were reasonably confident about it, as I thought that more useful data could be gathered from those teachers who felt less confident.

3.2 Interview schedule

An interview schedule divided into three sections and including open-ended and single answer questions was drawn up. (See Appendices 1 and 2.)

Section 1: Academic and literary background was designed to find out about the respondents' qualifications and reading habits.

Section 2: Use of literature in the language classroom included questions about how often respondents used literature as a resource, types of texts and activities used, the purpose of using literature in the language class and what background knowledge, skills and qualities they thought were needed/would be useful. A checklist of skills, qualities and background knowledge was compiled from books dealing with how to teach literature as well as from the introductions to books for students. This checklist was only used when the respondent needed a prompt to answer this question.
Respondents were also asked to comment on the nature of literary language and whether it differs from other uses of language.

Section 3: The literary 'quiz' (Appendix 2) was adapted from Lazar (1993). In the first part, respondents were asked to match terms with definitions and then match them with literary examples as a way of finding out how familiar teachers were with literary terminology and how they felt about it. In no way was it intended to suggest that the ability to identify literary tropes affected a teacher's ability to handle texts in the language classroom. The second part involved identifying which of six texts could be classified as 'literary', and respondents were asked to give reasons whenever possible. The purpose of this was to explore teachers' ideas about the nature of literary language and how these might influence their use of literary texts.

3.3 Interview Procedure

The interviews were conducted by the researcher using the interview schedule, noting down answers as far as possible in the respondent's own words, and checking, in the case of summarising a respondent's answer, that it reflected as accurately as possible his/her thoughts and feelings. The interviews were not recorded because of time restrictions. Respondents were not given the opportunity to read through the questions before the interview and in the case of misunderstandings I allowed myself to reformulate when necessary. For example, when help was need to answer question 2.6 in Section 2, 'What do you think would help a teacher in exploitation of literary texts in the language classroom?', the checklist was produced as a prompt. It can usually be seen from the wording of the answers to this question which respondents required prompting as they tended to used terms similar to those on the checklist.

It was thought that more valuable information could be collected in this way rather than asking a larger number of teachers to complete a questionnaire. However, this method of conducting interviews does suffer from a certain amount of researcher effect as teachers may try to give an answer which they think the interviewer wants or which may impress the interviewer, especially if they feel uneasy about literature. Respondents usually did the quiz directly after the interview on their own but, in one or two cases, because of insufficient time, the respondent was allowed to take the quiz away to complete and was asked to promise not to cheat.

Throughout the interview it was stressed to the teachers taking part that I was interested in their attitudes towards using literature as a resource in a language classroom in which the main aim is language improvement, and not 'literature through language' where the main aim is the study of literature.

4. Selective Summary of Findings

Because of the large amount of data collected, in this paper I will attempt to focus on those findings which relate to the main objectives as well as anything which I felt to be particularly surprising, interesting or disappointing.

Section 1: Academic and literary background

Respondents were asked about their educational qualifications. Only one out of the 20 respondents had no higher degree qualifications and limited experience in EFL. Some also had ESL experience and qualifications. Because the sample was limited to teachers working at IALS, it does not include teachers with less than two years teaching experience whose answers might have altered the findings. A high proportion (14) had higher degrees or qualifications.

Section 2: Use of literature in the language classroom

Q2. Have you ever used literary texts (poetry, extracts from novels, short stories) as a resource in the language classroom?

All of the respondents said that they had used literature as a resource at some point in their teaching career. Their choice of literary texts was rather diverse, ranging from the poetry of R.S. Thomas and Lewis Carroll (*Jabberwocky*), through horror (*Dracula*) and travel (*A Year in Provence*) to a novel in translation (*The Name of the Rose*).

Many comments revealed a feeling of uncertainty about what could be classified as literature. One teacher said 'I don't really know what literature is', and another wondered whether a song could be classified as a literary text. At this stage in the interview, respondents were not asked to consider a definition of literature and literary language (which comes in Section 3), although, with hindsight, it might have been more useful to have asked them to do so at this point.

Q2.1 When did you last use a literary text?

In response to this question, answers ranged from 'four years ago' to 'this week'. Some teachers pointed out that although they would like to exploit this resource more often, their teaching schedule dictated otherwise, e.g. they were teaching ESP or had to follow a syllabus.

Q2.3 Why did you use it?

Seventeen out of 20 teachers answered because they themselves had wanted to use it, five because it came up in the textbook and only one because students asked for it. 'For variety' was one reason given, other teachers used it to provoke discussion, some as a change from their course book or course syllabus and one to illustrate a language point. It is surprising that only one teacher mentioned its cultural dimension, since in Question 3.6, when asked about the purposes of using literature, seven teachers mentioned cultural background and awareness.

The fact that only one teacher had responded to students' request for literature would seem to raise at least two questions concerning the nature of teacher sensitivity and learner choice:

1. Do teachers force literature upon students because they think it is good for them?
2. Do students not request literature because they think that:
    a. it is too difficult
    b. not appropriate
    c. or simply because it has not occurred to them to ask?

Although it is beyond the scope of this study to look at students' responses to literature, such questions merit further investigation.

Q2.5 Were you satisfied with the way it went?

Can you rate your reaction on this cline.

5 4 3 2 1

very satisfied not satisfied

In response to this question, 17 were very satisfied and three fairly satisfied. Eight of the 17 were unreserved about their level of satisfaction, with one teacher explaining that her own enthusiasm had been transferred to the students. It is interesting to note that a teacher who rated satisfaction at 4 on the cline then commented that one half of the class thought 'it was great', the other half rejected the activity. Another teacher, who also gave a rating of 4-5, mentioned that one student's lack of interest was due to 'her attitude problem'. According to this teacher, the student (Japanese) would not make the effort. Interestingly enough another teacher noted 'panic' from one Japanese student in response to a literature activity, while the rest of the class seemed to like it.

Some of the comments seem to point to a discrepancy between teacher perception of satisfaction and learner perception. It would have been interesting to examine the composition of nationalities within the class to find out which nationalities enjoyed the activity, but since the research was aimed at teachers' attitudes, the question of students' attitudes was not followed up.

Researcher effect should be taken into consideration when analysing the answers to Q2.5 as teachers may not want to appear inadequate and admit failure. With hindsight, respondents could have been asked whether they would use the same activity again with a similar class to get round the 'fear of failure' problem. This question also relates to Q2.3 (Why did you use it?) in answer to which 17 said because they, the teacher, wanted to; and also question 2.4, in response to which 15 said they had designed the activities themselves. This would suggest a high level of personal investment perhaps, and a strong desire on the part of the teachers for it to go well - and some of the comments (see above) would also support this. It would be interesting to compare the use of a non-literary extract to that of a literary one, with similar activities and tasks, to determine whether teacher satisfaction was higher or lower.

Q2.6 What do you think would help a teacher in exploiting texts in the language classroom?
e.g. biographical information about a writer.

The checklist was divided into skills, background knowledge and qualities. (See Appendix 3.) Under the heading Skills, nine respondents mentioned EFL teaching skills as being useful and two commented that teaching skills for exploiting literature were not much different from EFL skills, while one said that once a teacher had ideas on how to exploit a text in general, she didn't see a literary text as being much different from any other text.

The role of the teacher was given high priority. Nine respondents considered the teacher's role as motivator, especially with regard to the selection of texts, as important, seven mentioned the role of teacher as enabler or facilitator, that is helping the reader to understand the text, and seven mentioned the teacher's role as a bridge or link by finding ways of connecting the experience of the learner with the literary work.

Almost all the teachers (17) said that background knowledge would be useful in helping them to exploit a literary text. Among the areas mentioned were biographical information about a writer, general literary history and theory, literary stylistics and knowledge of other aspects of the literary tradition. The reasons given for the need for more background knowledge reveal some of the fears and apprehensions that teachers may have such as the 'embarrassment felt when students think of one meaning and you haven't'; nervousness brought on by the teacher not liking a text which, as a result, 'won't go well'. The general feeling that background knowledge would increase teacher confidence would suggest a discrepancy between what teachers <u>say</u> is necessary and what they <u>feel</u> to be helpful in exploiting literary texts.

Although many would affirm that EFL teaching skills are sufficient, they also state that they would feel more confident, more at ease with more background information including knowledge of literary terminology.

Under 'qualities', enthusiasm was mentioned by six respondents with the qualification that it be tempered with restraint. Other qualities which could be classified under the general heading of enthusiasm were conviction, an interest in literature and a love of the text.

In response to Q2.6, most of the respondents expressed a certain amount of confidence in handling literary texts as a resource, seeing them as no different from other language teaching materials. The high level of satisfaction expressed in Question 2.5 would tend to support this.

Q 3.4 What purposes does the use of literature in the language classroom have?

From responses given to Question 2.6 in which respondents stated that they regarded literature as just another resource, it could be supposed that the majority of teachers might see language improvement as the main purpose of using literature, and the evidence seems to support this view.

The most frequently mentioned purposes included the promotion of further reading and the use of literature as a stimulus for discussion, mentioned by nine respondents. Six considered literature useful for illustrating grammar points and six would introduce it as another variety of discourse. One teacher mentioned using literature to point out 'good examples of English', although this might also be implicit in other respondents' answers e.g. as a model and/or stimulus for creative writing. Five considered it a good source of authentic material to 'elicit an authentic response.'

It is not surprising, given the focus on language learning, that increasing students' literary awareness, that is to say of how a writer achieves certain effects, did not rank very highly among the teachers. However, seven teachers pointed to the use of literature for the purposes of 'cultural awareness-raising,' or 'cultural appreciation', which would reveal the importance of non-linguistic purposes for the use of literature.

Q2.7 Do you think any special training is required to use literary texts?

Another main objective of the research was to find out if teachers thought that they needed any special training in using literature in the language classroom. It was supposed that educational background and qualifications might affect this response.

Of the seven who said 'Yes', three had a background in English Language and Literature, two in Modern Languages and Literature and two in various other specialities. It was expected that a higher proportion with a background in Languages and Literature and the one respondent with no higher degree qualifications would have considered a training course to be necessary. Of the eight who responded 'It depends', two main factors were mentioned, the individual teacher's personality and background, and the approach. That is to say, if a teacher was sufficiently well-read and enthusiastic, and the approach was language through literature and not literature through language, then a training course was not deemed necessary. In one teacher's view, since literature was only a small part of the language class the teacher could read books on how to deal with it.

Of the five who answered 'No', the main reason given was that literature as a resource was not much different from other texts. The teacher with no higher-degree qualifications but with an RSA Certificate, who might be supposed to have felt more in need of a course, commented that although special training may help, it is more important that a teacher is reasonably well-read and has an interest in the subject. Looking in more detail at this teacher, it can be seen that she spends one hour a day reading for enjoyment and mentioned literary fiction, history, biographies and newspapers under 'what read'. Although she had five years experience in EFL, this had been sporadic and had taken place mainly in one-to-one teaching situations.

In answering this question, respondents were at pains to differentiate between using literature as a resource and teaching literature "as literature". Many said that a special training course was not necessary for literature as a resource, but would be useful for the study of literature as literature.

It was surprising that a higher proportion did not say that special training was necessary, but this may be a reflection of the sample chosen to be interviewed. Less qualified, less experienced teachers may be more likely to express such a need. However, on closer examination, their comments, especially concerning literary background and stylistics, would suggest a desire for some kind of training, although not concentrating on EFL skills.

Section 3: Literary quiz

Most respondents were wary about being asked to complete the third section of the interview schedule, the literary quiz, which many said they perceived as threatening, a "test" of their literary knowledge and literary competence. Respondents were assured that knowledge of literary terminology was only a small part in the armoury of an EFL teacher using literature and told not to worry if they got the answers wrong. The point of including the quiz was to evaluate their feelings towards literary terminology and the examples from Lazar (1993), it was explained, offered a fairly clear-cut list.

The only respondent who felt quite at ease, scoring 10 out of 10 after matching the terms with definitions, commented 'Everyone should know what they mean, shouldn't they?' since this was her experience. However, when it came to matching the terms/definitions with the examples (question 2), she scored 7 out of 10.

Some respondents stated that, whereas in the first part of the question they could arrive at the correct answers by a process of elimination, it was more difficult to do so in the second part where they were asked to identify examples of figures of speech.

The greatest confusion seemed to be the difference between metaphor and metonymy, but this is not surprising. Metonymy is generally not well-known and is 'frequently confused with two other figures of speech, metaphor and synecdoche' (Pankhurst 1994), and there are many cases where the terms overlap, leading to ambiguity (Parkinson 1993). Those who had never come across the terms synecdoche, oxymoron, or apostrophe, were interested to know the definitions as well as their score.

One teacher commented that she would like to know the terms as a useful shorthand for teaching literature. Another stated that it is essential to know the concepts but not the terms.

Q3 Here are a number of different texts. Read through each one and decide whether or not you think it is a literary text. If not, then think about where the text might have come from. Note down any language in the text which helped you to make your decision.

This task, again taken from Lazar (1993) was designed to explore teachers' ideas on identifying and defining literary texts. Lazar claims that 'one of the hallmarks of literature is that it feeds creatively on every possible style and register' (1993:6). In fact, when asked to identify which texts were literary, two respondents questioned whether it was possible to do so. One teacher commented that it was difficult to say because anything can be used by writers of literature to add meaning to established styles of writing. According to another, any of them could have come from a literary text, although she added that some of them use richer language than that used in newspaper articles.

The significance of these remarks was shown in the answers given by the others in categorizing the text in question 3-B. One thought it came from 'a junk romance', whereas another thought it was 'bad style', at the same time conceding that 'that does not mean it could not be by a serious writer'. In support of their view that 3-B was a literary text, 16 teachers pointed out the high frequency of metaphors and similes.

However, text 3-C was identified by 13 as non-literary because of the use of 'flowery language', the same reason given by another three teachers for it being categorised as 'literary'.

Although some respondents expressed deep uncertainties, there was a considerable consensus in the answers they finally gave as to what could be regarded as "literary".

5. General Conclusions

One surprising conclusion from this investigation is that, despite voicing concerns informally about using literature in the language classroom, when questioned more formally, many of the EFL teachers in this study said that they regarded literature as a resource no different from any other EFL resource. Most of the respondents said that they felt confident about using literature when applying EFL-style tasks and activities. No doubt this is because, with one exception, the respondents were highly-qualified, experienced EFL teachers. Yet at the same time they acknowledge the usefulness of such factors as background information or knowledge of stylistics to give them confidence in case they are asked non-linguistic questions. This would suggest that, in spite of their outward confidence, they do have some misgivings.

Another factor to be taken into consideration is that all of the teachers interviewed tended to use literary extracts as one-off, filler-type activities which, although designed to tie in with the current topic or course, seemed to be considered more of "an added extra". None of the teachers interviewed seemed to use literature on a regular basis, as an integral part of the syllabus. Although many said they would like to, syllabus restrictions made this difficult. Most of the texts described were short - poems or extracts - often studied out of context, and none of the teachers mentioned using longer texts such as plays or novels with a class. This rather limited use of literature might explain why teachers feel relatively confident, since there would be less likelihood of being asked awkward questions by students.

It is also surprising that more teachers did not mention, as one teacher did, that literary texts often require more careful reading and more preparation than non-literary ones, and this may be one of the reasons why the teachers interviewed did not exploit the resource more often. It is disappointing that so few seem to include literary texts regularly in their teaching. As one teacher pointed out, if more literature were used, it would 'lose its mystique'. Timetable and syllabus restrictions, however, often made this impossible. Despite these findings, there seemed to be a general feeling that, given the opportunity, the greater use of literature in language teaching was desirable.

Although the level of enthusiasm for extended teacher development courses on literature in language teaching is surprisingly low among the teachers in this study, it would also seem that most of them would accept that there is a body of knowledge, namely literary history, theory and stylistics as well as biographical and background information about writers, which would inform their use of literature in the language classroom. The explanation for this apparent discrepancy is not totally clear from this data but one may speculate that, because of the limited role literature plays in their present teaching, their repertoire of teaching techniques is at present sufficient.

Although I reluctantly conclude that there is no clear evidence to support the introduction of extensive teacher development or training courses with the population researched, given the increasing prominence of literature it would seem that teachers would be receptive to more modest input such as seminars and workshop sessions which, rather than dealing with EFL-type tasks and activities, would focus more on literary stylistics and analysis.

However, the results of this investigation influenced the design of a summer course at IALS, 'Teaching Literature in EFL', which included sessions on current literary theories.

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Appendix 1
Teachers' Attitudes to Using Literature in the Language Classroom
Interview Schedule

Section 1 Academic / Literary Background

1. What is your first degree?

English Literature ☐
English Literature and Language ☐
English Language / Linguistics ☐
Modern Languages ☐
Modern Languages and Literature ☐
Other (please specify) ☐

2. Do you have any other qualifications?

DTEFLA ☐
MA/MSc in Applied Linguistics ☐
MLitt ☐
PhD ☐
PGCE ☐
Other ☐

3. Personal Reading Habits

3.1 Approximately how many hours do you read per week? less than 5 _____
more than 5 _____
more than 10 _____

a) for work purposes _____
b) for enjoyment _____

3.2 What do you read for enjoyment? _____

What was the name of the last novel/biography/etc. you completed reading?

_____
_____

When was that? _____

4. Do your personal reading habits affect your approach to literature in the language classroom? Please comment.

_____

_____

_____

Section 2 Use of Literature in the Language Classroom

1. How long have you been teaching EFL? _____

2. Have you ever used literary texts (poetry, extracts from novels, short stories) as a resource in the language classroom? Yes ☐ No ☐
   If **NO** go to question 3
   If **YES**,

   2.1 when did you last use a literary text? _____

   2.2 where did you take the text from? Give source. _____

   2.3 why did you use it? _____

   a) came up in textbook/course
   b) students asked for it
   c) you wanted to use it
   d) any other reason? _____

   2.4 Did you design the activities? _____
   Did you use commercially prepared material? _____

   2.5 Were you satisfied with the way it went? _____

   Can you rate your reaction on this cline.

5	4	3	2	1
very satisfied				not at all satisfied

   Please comment on the activities the class did based on the text:

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

2.6 What do you think would help a Teacher in exploiting literary texts in the language classroom?e.g. biographical information about a writer.

_____

_____

_____

_____.

Could you rank these in order of importance?

_____

_____

_____

2.7 Do you think any special training is required to use literary texts? _____

_____

3. 3.1 Why do you not use literary texts in the language classroom?

_____

_____

_____

3.2 What would you say are the differences between the language of jokes, riddles, slogans, proverbs, idioms, newspaper articles/headlines reviews, travel writing and that in novels, short stories, poetry etc?
Please comment.

_____

_____

_____

_____

3.3 What background knowledge, teaching skills and qualities do you think would help a Teacher to use literature effectively in the language classroom?

_____

_____

_____

_____

Could you rank these in order of importance?

_____

_____

_____

3.4 What purposes does the use of literature in the language classroom have?

_____

_____

_____

_____

Section 3 Literary Competence (Test)

1. Can you match the following terms with the definition?
2. Can you match the term with the examples?
3. Which of the texts would you say was 'literary'?
4. What helped you make your choice?

_____

_____

_____

_____

Appendix 2
Extracts from "quiz" - See Lazar 1993:5-6 and 44-45 for complete original version.

Below is a list of some of the terms which are often used when discussing literature. In fact some of them are terms for figures of speech which are equally common in everyday language. Can you define them or give an example?

1. Metaphor
2. Simile
3. Personification
4. Paradox
5. Oxymoron
6. Metonymy
7. Synecdoche
8. Apostrophe
9. Alliteration
10. Assonance

Here are the 'text-book' definitions. Can you match them with the term?

a) a kind of metaphor in which abstract or inanimate objects are described as if they were alive and animate.

b) a combination of neighbouring words which seem apparently contradictory or incongruous.

c) the repetition of identical or similar vowel sounds, usually in the middle of words.

(plus seven more examples)

Now can you match the terms and definitions with the following examples?

Examples

A. '...with the smoking blueness of Pluto's gloom...' (D.H. Lawrence, *Bavarian Gentians*.)

B. 'War is peace. Freedom is slavery. Ignorance is strength.' (George Orwell, *1984*.)

C. 'The pen is mightier than the sword.' (E.G. Bulwer-Lytton, *Richelieu*, II, 2, 1938.)

(plus seven more examples)

Appendix 2
(cont.) (p.2)

Task 6

Here are a number of different texts. Read through each one and decide whether or not you think it is a literary text. If not, then think about where the text might have come from. Note down any language in the text which helped you to make your decision.

A. As this is a small Edwardian terraced house with limited natural light, Venetian blinds were chosen to cover the windows. They screen the street scene during the day and add to the impression of space given by the light walls and modern furniture. Curtains in deep coral would have looked heavy, but the sunshine that streams through the blinds keeps the overall effect light.

B. The windows were ajar and gleaming white against the fresh grass outside that seemed to grow a little way into the house. A breeze blew through the room, blew curtains in at one end and out the other like pale flags, twisting them up toward the frosted wedding-cake of the ceiling, and then rippled over the wine-coloured rug, making a shadow on it as the wind does at sea.

C. His breast of chicken with tarragon and girolles goes back to the classic French repertoire: the skin of the fowl crisped to gold, odoriferously swathed in a thick creamy sauce, golden also, piled with fleshy mushrooms fried in butter till they take on the gleam of varnished wood.

D. Just because we're deaf, it doesn't mean we've nothing between our ears.

(plus three more examples)

Appendix 3
Teachers' Attitudes to Using Literature in the Language Classroom
Checklist of skills, qualities and knowledge

Role/skills

1. Teacher as enabler, facilitator, intermediary - to help bring out Ss responses, help Ss unravel many meanings in a text.

2. T as bridge, link - between literary text and Ss own experience, i.e. activate experience, prompt comparisons, contrasts.

3. T as motivator - i.e. find suitable texts, motivate Ss to read.

4. Ability to:

    - devise appropriate tasks, approaches
    - set up process, procedures
    - ask appropriate questions
    - formulate points of view for discussion

    (strategies not different from language teaching?)

5. Ability to read aloud and decide when suitable for students to read aloud.

6. Ability to predict, anticipate Ss problems - e.g. language, grammar.

7. Ability to predict cross cultural factors - the curious and inexplicable.

8. Ability to distinguish appropriate response, i.e. valid and ability to refute invalid interpretations.

9. Ability to follow another T's notes.

10. Awareness of reading processes.

Qualities

1. Enthusiasm (but not too much!).

2. Restraint - not impose own interpretation

3. a. sensitivity - having feeling - response to text, heightened awareness
   b. sensibility - having appreciation, easily affected, aware, having good judgement

4. Discipline - to stop students going on flights of fancy.

5. Patience - to wait for Ss to come up with own interpretations, help through difficult patches.

Appendix 3
(cont.) (p.2)

Knowledge

1. Background knowledge - T as resource for historical and cultural background information.

2. Knowledge of current literary theories.

3. Knowledge of other aspects of literary tradition.

4. Terminology - stylistics training, metalanguage i.e. ability to define metaphors etc.

5. Knowledge of grammar in widest sense (linguistic competence)

    - use of English
    - analytic competence
    - literary competence

Literary competence

Defined as having:

> *...an implicit understanding of and familiarity with certain conventions which allow us to take the words on a page and convert them into literary meaning.*
> (Culler's definition paraphrased by Lazar, 1993, p 12)

includes:

1. ability to infer a message, recognise patterns of language
2. ability to rate a text on cline - evaluate, judge
3. ability to deal with the unexpected
4. ability to deal with ambiguity, irony
5. ability to appreciate and understand certain conventions.

CREATING MULTIMEDIA COURSEWARE FOR ESP

Philip Goertzen and Ron Howard (IALS)

Abstract

Multimedia courseware can be produced with relatively little technical expertise. We produced a prototype unit of multimedia materials in Microsoft Access 1.10, taking about 300 hours over a period of nine months. A second unit has taken under 100 hours. Our procedure is described and some of the problems and issues which arose during the design stage are discussed.

1. Introduction

Many language teachers have welcomed the arrival of multimedia. Fox *et al.* (1990: 37) point to 'considerable enrichment of the learning environment ... as the spoken word and the "real world" can be brought in'. For Evans (1993: 214): 'The integration of text, sound and visual data clearly is of great benefit to the learner as this will reinforce comprehension, pronunciation and contextual use in a way that traditional materials are unable to do.' Wolff (1993: 27) states of multimedia packages that:

> They can be used to create a rich learning environment which will motivate learners to use the foreign language in an authentic way.
>
> They can be used to provide learning materials adapted to the individual learner's learning strategies and learning styles.
>
> They can be used to help learners discover and practice processing and learning strategies.
>
> They can be used to help learners develop learner autonomy.
>
> (Wolff 1993: 27)

The promise such writers see in multimedia has so far had little empirical substantiation, as Wolff admits (op. cit.: 25). Until multimedia courseware is readily available it is impossible to evaluate it. Although some materials are now appearing on the market, they are inevitably oriented to the biggest market areas, notably English for Business. Materials for other specialist areas are unlikely to be produced commercially for some time to come, if ever.

In January 1994, we decided to see if it was possible to develop appropriate and effective multimedia materials with resources (hardware, software and staff expertise) already to hand. The first part of this objective has been achieved: a prototype unit (*William Evans: a medical case problem*) has been developed using Microsoft Access as an authoring tool. We now plan to pilot and evaluate the material and to see how far it can be used as a template for other units in the same area (English for Medicine), and in others (English for Law).

This article briefly describes the unit and outlines the stages of its development and some of the problems and issues which arose during the process. The material consists of a problem-solving activity for doctors and medical students wanting to improve their English. Many of the decisions we took will apply to other types of problem-solving activity in multimedia format.

2. The material

The activity simulates the information gathering and decision making underlying the diagnostic process. Learners are presented with information about a patient in a variety of forms: letters, written reports, telephone reports, dialogues, X-rays. If they are successful in collecting all the appropriate information, they should be able to solve the case problem and arrive at a diagnosis. The material therefore provides integrated skills practice in a semi-authentic way. It is intended mainly for self-access use, but it could also be used by two learners working together, or indeed a whole class working in pairs (if enough computers are available).

The package consists of text, graphics (including colour photographs), and digitised sound. Learners have taken from 60-90 minutes to work through the material, which contains about 2,000 words of written and spoken text, plus three gap filling exercises. The file containing it occupies about 20 megabytes of space on the hard disk (including sound files).

3. Hardware

We used Dell 486SX 50Mhz machines with 14" SVGA monitors, 200 megabyte hard disks (8 megabytes of RAM), Sound Blaster sound cards, and headphones. The machines are connected by way of Windows for Workgroups 3.11. The main Access file runs off a central server; to facilitate fast response times, accompanying sound files (WAV) are located on local machines where they occupy about 10 megabytes of hard disk space.

In the production stage, some additional equipment was used including a colour scanner for some of the graphics, a microphone, and the recording software provided with Sound Blaster.

4. Staging

We approached the task in three stages corresponding quite closely to those suggested by Keith and Lafford (1989:126).

4.1 Preliminary planning

Four weeks (140 hours) were allocated for the project in the first instance. Two members of staff (the authors) were mainly responsible, with two others assigned to monitor and advise. A Medical English problem-solving lesson was chosen for the project since we thought this type of activity could benefit from multimedia adaptation. It also had the advantage that no time was needed to plan the general content of the unit.

4.2 Choosing software

A number of software packages designed for authoring multimedia programs are available. HyperCard has so far been the most popular with educational software developers (e.g. Evans 1993; Gibbons 1992), largely perhaps because it came free with the Apple Macintosh computer. However, at IALS we do not use Apple Macs, so HyperCard was not an option. Some packages were excluded because of cost (Authorware Professional, IconAuthor). Both authors had previously worked with Guide, which is less expensive, but we had found it difficult to use. We also wanted a more visually pleasing finish to our screens than Guide could provide. We considered Toolbook. Colleagues in other departments in the University had achieved impressive results with it, but it is said to be slow. (See Darby (ed.) 1992a, Fox *et al.* 1992: 37-52, Donnelly (ed.) 1994, Windeatt (1994) and Marshall (1995) for reviews of software.)

We decided, finally, not to use any of these specific authoring packages. King and Murray (1992) have shown how Microsoft Windows 3.1 can be used to create multimedia materials without any additional software. Spreadsheets have been used by other authors (e.g. Young, Heath and Cuttle 1994). We chose a database, Microsoft Access.

As far as we know, we are alone in using Access in this way. In many respects, however, Access is an easier authoring tool to use than purpose-built programs such as Toolbook or Guide. Individual screens are created from Access 'forms', macros take care of most of the manipulation of these forms (without the need for programming), and student file input/output is largely taken care of by Access tables. On-screen menus are fully customisable. For more complicated features like gap-filling exercises and navigational maps, Access Basic provides an industry standard programming interface that does not require learning a proprietary language.

4.3 Structuring the activity

As we have said, it was not necessary to spend time in the pre-design phase on planning the overall content of the program, since it was to be based on a well-tried classroom activity. Some care was taken, however, in choosing the particular medical case problem. (We used one from Taylor, Armstrong and Carroll 1987. See Ferguson 1991 for a discussion of ways such case problems can be used.) We looked for a case that was interesting and challenging but not too difficult, and that gave scope for the use of graphics (X-rays, for example). We also gave considerable thought to getting the right balance between tasks that were purely communicative and those that were more language focused (Johns and Davies 1987). We finally opted for weighting the former. We have included three gap-filling exercises, one at the end of each section (history-taking, examination, laboratory tests), but even in these it is content words which are deleted, and their main function is to provide the learner with feedback on the success of information gathering.

4.4 · Creating the activity

One of us (RH) next created the text of the program on paper, form by form[1] with an indication of the links between them. Figure 1 shows an example of the preliminary design for one form.

Form 3: History
You have decided to obtain more information from the patient.
Choose one or more of the following:

1. Personal details	→	form 4
2. Social history	→	form 5
3. Main complaint	→	form 6
4. Family history	→	form 7
5. Past history	→	form 8
6. Systems enquiry	→	form 9
7. Quit		

Figure 1: *Sample of the preliminary design of a form*

4.5 Graphics and sound

The next step was to collect graphics and sound for each form. Graphics consist of proformas, line drawings and photographs. Some of these, e.g. the proformas, are integral to the activity while others are simply intended to make the program look more attractive to the learner.

One graphic consists of a line drawing of the patient's abdomen. The learner is required to 'palpate' the abdomen by clicking the mouse on different areas. When the painful area is touched, the patient is heard saying: 'Ouch! That hurts!' (Figure 2). This particular task does not make any linguistic demands on the learner (beyond understanding the instructions), but we believe it serves the purpose of helping to make the activity enjoyable.

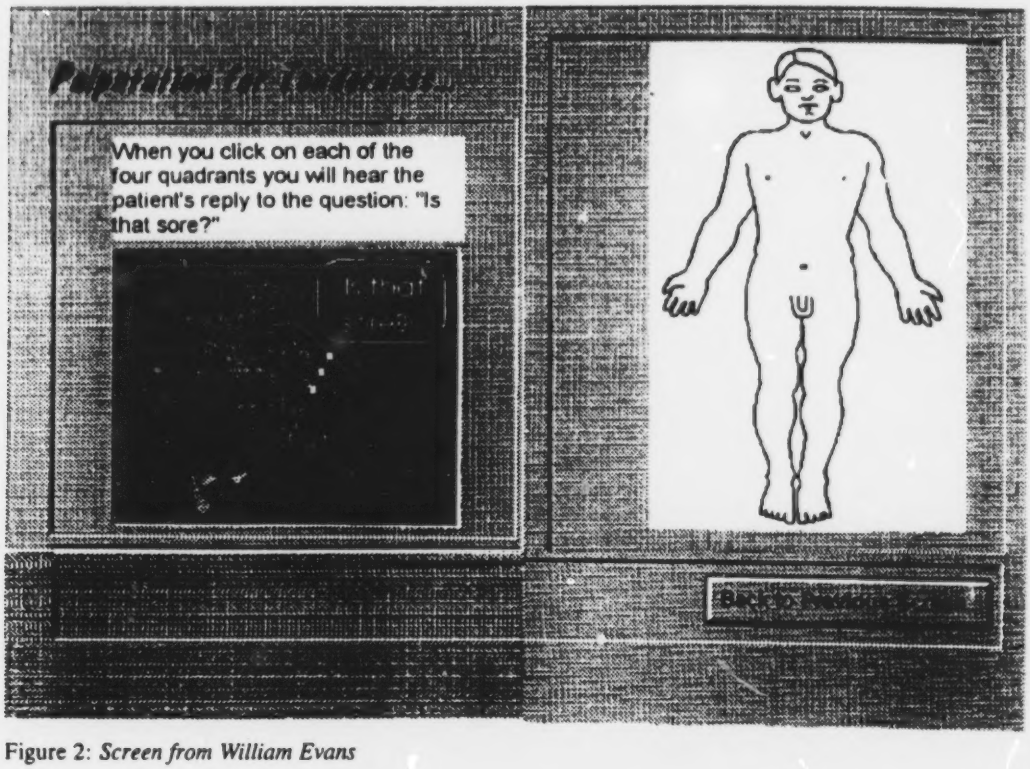

Figure 2: *Screen from William Evans*

Proformas, based on authentic examples taken from local hospitals, were created directly in Access. Colour photographs, e.g. of hospital departments, were taken by one of the authors (PG). Others, e.g. the photograph of the 'patient', were taken from clip-art files. In the form illustrated by Figure 2, a speech balloon was added to a clip-art photograph using Paintbrush.

Sound consists of responses from the patient to the learner's questions, and spoken reports of laboratory tests. These were scripted and recorded through a microphone directly onto the hard disk.

4.6 Programming

The 'storyboard' was next converted into Access forms by PG. Decisions on graphics and layout for each screen were made sometimes at the storyboard stage, sometimes during programming, sometimes later.

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Although we met periodically to evaluate the work-in-progress, the division of labour meant that for most of the time we could work independently and were not constrained by the need to find time when we were both free to work on the project. On the other hand, the fact that PG has taught medical English and that RH is moderately familiar with computers made the collaboration more efficient.

5. Further developments planned

The unit is now functional, although we hope to continue making improvements - some minor, some more substantive. For example, we will eventually add a local glossary with contextually appropriate meanings of key words.

6. Problems and issues

In the course of design and implementation a number of problems arose, some general, and some specific to the material. In this article, we will restrict ourselves to discussing the former.

6.1 Design

The effects of user anxiety when interacting with computers are fairly well documented (see Todman and Lawrenson 1992). To try and minimise the stress of using a computer, several design issues were agreed on at the outset:

- The user would interact with the computer primarily by means of the mouse and would therefore need no knowledge of the operating system.
- Options would appear as a series of 'buttons'. The user chooses by clicking on a button.
- Where users were required to perform tasks (such as filling in proformae, answering questions, etc.) they would have the option of doing so on screen or on paper.

6.2 Screen layout

We accepted as given that to make the screen as clear and attractive as possible, text should be kept to a minimum. A basic design of four frames was adopted (title, instructions, graphic, option buttons) with a toolbar at the bottom, but variations are possible. Scrolling is never necessary. We experimented informally with the placing of text in relation to graphics. When more than one frame contains text, we have found that an enlarged capital (a 'dropped' capital) at the beginning of the first word draws the eye to the text which should be read first. We used different fonts and different colours sparingly, following the two-colour two-font rule. High contrast colours were chosen. The guidelines on design in the Microsoft Access manual were useful.

6.3 Learner input

In the history-taking stage of a medical consultation, the doctor obtains information by interrogating the patient. In our simulation, the learner plays the part of the investigating doctor and all other roles including that of the patient are assigned to the computer. It is a simple matter to reproduce the patient's responses as digitised speech. But how to have the learner-doctor address questions to the computer-patient posed more of a problem. The potential solutions are:

1. The learner speaks the questions. This is not possible with the technology available at present.
2. The learner types the questions. This is off-putting for some learners (see Section 7) and, although technically possible, getting the computer to accept all the possible valid questions would have involved far more programming than we were able to undertake.
3. The learner selects questions from a menu. This was the method used.

Even in the case of the option we chose, variations are possible. We considered the possibility of offering learners a choice of questions, which could be (1) acceptable, (2) grammatically incorrect, or (3) grammatically acceptable but pragmatically inappropriate. However, this was eventually rejected, partly to limit the size of the program (see also below on the number of questions), and partly because we thought having to switch from a communicative task to a language-based one may be confusing to the learner.[2]

A very large number of questions could be asked in this situation. To include them all would have taken up an inordinate amount of time and space. We therefore felt we had to limit the number of questions in some way. One solution we chose for a particular part of the history-taking section was to present a batch of information in the form of a patient response questionnaire, an idea taken from a medical source (Short 1986).

In *William Evans*, the learner is therefore presented with a limited set of questions, each intended to elicit a different piece of information. (See also Gibbons 1992.) The question forms will normally have been taught in classroom lessons; our simulation is intended to provide additional exposure to these forms to reinforce classroom learning. A few redundant questions have been included to make choice more meaningful, since observation shows that otherwise learners simply select all questions (medical thoroughness?). When one of the redundant questions is selected the computer reproaches the learner. If we had adopted a scoring system (see below), it could have earned the learner a negative mark.

6.4 Interactivity

The question of how much freedom to give the learner is one of the main issues we faced. The view that too much freedom is counterproductive seems to be a gaining ground in the literature (e.g. Sciarone and Meijer 1993), although initially the autonomy possible with CALL was seen as one of its chief advantages. Freedom of choice could be undesirable if it bewilders learners or if it allows them to make clearly wrong choices. We hope we have avoided both dangers.

As well as being able to choose whether to use pen and paper or the keyboard to enter responses (see 6.1), learners have a number of other choices.

Choice of path: They can choose which path to take in order to solve the diagnostic problem. If we were teaching medical diagnostic skills, this would not be a real choice since a doctor or medical student would be expected to follow the well-established path of history-taking first, then examination and finally laboratory investigations. There would be one correct path, and all others would be incorrect. Medical programs of this type often award points for taking the optimal steps in the optimal sequence, and penalise any deviation. We have so far resisted the temptation to include a scoring system since this would encourage the impression that this program is designed to teach medicine rather than language. We feel it is important that the learner is aware of the distinction, although at the same time we have tried to make the program medically exact.

Transcript: An onscreen transcript is available for the longer listening passages. Learners can choose to read this before, while or after they listen. While they are encouraged to listen first *without* the transcript, we do not know of any evidence for the superiority of this approach for *all* learners and have therefore allowed them to choose. Other multimedia producers have taken a different decision (Moses 1991). The few learners who have so far tried the material all listened first without the transcript, but it has to be admitted that the presence of one of the authors (see Section 7) may have been an influence. After evaluating the material with a larger number of learners we will of course review our decision.

Feedback: Learners are free to complete the activity without obtaining any formal feedback, if they wish. Optional listening and reading comprehension checks are, however, provided in the form of gap-filling exercises. As mentioned in Section 6.1, learners are given the option of doing these exercises on screen or on paper. Feedback in the latter case consists of a completed version of the exercise which can be printed

out. In the former case, after typing in an answer the learner clicks on the word, and the computer responds with: 'Your answer is correct' or 'Your answer doesn't match the computer's answer. The computer's answer is xxx.' This is a very simple way round the complex problem of how to deal with incorrect and near correct answers. (See, for example, Race and Brown 1994). Ideally, one would deal with errors in a more constructive way but it was necessary to compromise in view of the limited time available. We chose a version of gap-filling in which the first or even the first two letters are given. This has the advantage in a computer program of limiting the possible number of correct answers to one in most cases, although the program handles two possible answers in one or two cases.

It would be possible to design the program in such a way that learners are forced to follow a fixed path through the activity, and complete each section including its gap-filling exercise before they are permitted to go on to the next. We were reluctant to impose this type of constraint since we felt it would upset the delicate balance between user control and computer control too much in favour of the computer.

6.5 Navigation

Because learners will normally want to follow the standard path (see Choice of path, above), navigation is not as much of a problem in this simulation as it often is. However, we have observed that learners quite often wish to retrace their steps, for example to check on information they did not quite take on board in an earlier section. In addition, they may decide not to do the gap-filling exercises after solving the problem. A map showing the main sections of the activity can be obtained by clicking on Tools at any time. This provides an overview of the simulation, shows learners where they currently are (large arrow), and allows them to move to any other section by clicking on the appropriate box.

7. Evaluation

To date the material has been tested on five learners. They worked individually, with the observer (RH) sitting beside them making notes on such things as problems with navigation, time spent on particular tasks, choices made, etc., and intervening only when requested. This procedure is time-consuming but worthwhile with a small number of learners. The feedback obtained has already led to improvements in the program. For example, following a comment from one doctor, the map will be shown to the learner at the start to provide an overview. All five learners preferred to fill the gaps in a printed version rather than on screen. We have decided to leave the option of on-screen filling in place for the moment but it may turn out that it is not worth retaining this option if it continues to be ignored. Unnecessary choices increase the risk of confusion (see 6.4) and should be eliminated as far as possible.

8. Time

Johnson (cited in Keith and Lafford 1989:126) estimates 600-1000 hours of development time for a single unit. Gibbons (1992:26) claims that he and his team took about 1800 hours to create their legal simulation *Murder One*: 'Four people executed *Murder One* in the interstices of otherwise busy schedules over the course of ten months.' Their product is being marketed; we would not claim to have brought ours up to that standard. In a study cited in Reinhardt (1995:70), the mean number of hours required to create a single hour of courseware was 228 hours, and this corresponds more closely to our experience.

Officially, we had 140 hours for our project, but in fact a better estimate of the time taken would be 250 hours. This excludes time taken for PG to become more familiar with the software--probably another 50 hours—and some secretarial time. A second unit has almost been completed, using the first as a template and changing only the data[3]; time spent so far is about 70 hours.

9. Conclusion

We have demonstrated that it is possible to create multimedia materials tailored to the needs of a special group of language learners with relatively simple and inexpensive tools. 300 hours may seem a lot of time to spend creating one hour's worth of material. But we learned a great deal in doing so, and the materials could not have been obtained any other way. Subsequent units will certainly be easier and faster to produce.

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Notes

1. Each screenful of information corresponds to an Access 'form'.

2. This impression was confirmed during trials. Learners seemed reluctant to abandon the information gathering process to do a cloze exercise.

3. Not entirely true: it was impossible to resist making a few changes in format and procedure.

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A COMPARISON OF LISTENING AND SPEAKING TESTS FOR STUDENT PLACEMENT

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Abstract

Oral interviews for placement purposes on entry to IALS summer courses appear to have presented problems of inter-rater reliability of assessment and consistency of questions asked, and the resulting transfers of 'mis-placed' students have engendered dissatisfaction amongst students and staff alike. This paper reports on the CLASP (Comparing Listening and Speaking for Placement) project, which aimed to investigate whether a simple dictation test might provide a more objective and reliable alternative to an oral interview. The results suggest that the dictation might be used to supplement the information provided by the interview, but not to replace it.

1. Introduction

Student placement for IALS General English summer (GESUM) courses is based on a combination of students' scores on a cloze test and a five-minute interview with a teacher. For some years there has been increasing dissatisfaction amongst GESUM teachers with this method of placement; they have felt that students are mis-placed because of an interview score which has not satisfactorily predicted their level of performance in class. Over the first three or four days of each course it has been common for the GESUM course director to have to deal with transfers between classes within the GESUM course, as the (lack of) fluency of some students becomes evident in class work, or students perceive themselves to be in the wrong group. These inter-class transfers cause disruption to both students and staff.

In order to reduce the subjectivity of the oral interview, IALS runs a comprehensive pre-summer briefing of new teachers on the oral interview grading scheme. Despite this, wide variations in scoring appear to persist. The GESUM course director and assistant course director for 1993 (the first and third co-authors of this paper) discussed the possibility that the problems associated with the placement interview might be due to differences in perception of the scoring system on the part of temporary summer staff and permanent staff. However, informal examination of the oral interview sheets of students transferred within GESUM suggested that permanent and temporary staff were equally likely to award scores substantially higher or lower than the level indicated by subsequent classroom performance. The problem deserved further investigation and gave rise to the CLASP project.

The aim of the project was to design and trial a simple listening (dictation) test that might replace the present first-day GESUM student interview. There were two main issues for investigation: firstly, to measure the relationship between scores on the two tests and students' placement, to see whether dictation produced a better match with final placement (i.e. after any transfer); secondly, to examine the relationship between interview and dictation scores and assess whether dictation could be regarded as a proxy for oral communicative ability.

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2. Background

Although there seems to be a common assumption in the language teaching profession that an L2 learner's skills in listening and speaking are closely related, the empirical evidence is relatively scant. There are numerous claims in the practical literature of the link between listening and speaking in general (e.g. Wong 1987) or between listening and the pronunciation component of speaking (Gilbert 1987). On the other hand, the evidence from research is that the relationship is not quite as strong or straightforward as teachers would probably expect. In those research studies that have correlated students' scores on tests of speaking and listening, the correlations reported have generally been in the range 0.5-0.6 (e.g. Lalande and Schweckendieck 1986, Criper and Davies 1988, Ferguson and White 1994).

Dictation may not be the most obvious type of listening test type to propose as an alternative measure for speaking ability, since it conventionally involves reproduction (rather than interpretation) and requires transfer from aural to written medium (cf. Chaudron 1985). The immediate local argument for using dictation for placement was several years' experience at IALS of using dictation as part of a battery of entry tests for pre-sessional English for Academic Purposes courses, where it has been found to give an adequate indication of students' oral skills for class placement. However, no formal comparison of scores has been carried out. Indeed, in the research literature we have located only one study comparing performances on dictation and speaking: Bacheller (1980) found a correlation of approximately 0.6 - similar to the figures reported in studies comparing other forms of listening and speaking assessment, mentioned above.

Weir (1990) provides a useful summary of research into dictation, though with no specific focus on its relationship with speaking. He cites Valette (1977) and Oller (1979) as among those who have argued for the value of dictation as a test of overall proficiency. To this we might add a recent study at IALS (Lynch 1994) which found that dictation was the strongest predictor among three language measures (the others being vocabulary and writing) for non-native postgraduates' academic success. On the other hand, there have been arguments against dictation: Heaton (1975) claimed that it demanded so many different skills that it allowed no firm measurement of any one; Alderson (1978) argued that dictation sampled relatively low-level language skills and recommended that dictation tests should be designed to challenge short-term memory and should also feature spoken-style texts rather than written-style.

In short, there seemed to us to be no clear theoretical reason for not using dictation for placement purposes, assuming the text and test design met these concerns, if it could be shown to provide a more reliable basis for student placement.

The decision to use dictation raises various issues: choice of text (invented or discovered), mode of delivery (live or recorded), and criteria for marking (verbatim reproduction or semantically acceptable version). Taylor (1983) favoured the use of what he called 'raw' dictation, i.e. the presentation of spoken text reflecting the patterns of natural speech rather than the careful written-to-be-read style of speech often adopted for the traditional type of L2 dictation. He recommended using a classroom teaching episode selected from a lesson, then re-recorded and spaced before presentation as a dictation test. Weir (1990) makes the general point that the content of any listening test, including dictation, should be appropriate to the students' learning situation - a point of particular relevance for a short course of the GESUM type.

As far as the marking of a dictation test is concerned, Taylor (1983) advocated ignoring spelling and punctuation, and reported a high - though unspecified - correlation between dictation marked on that basis and general proficiency in an end-of-course test. Bacheller (1980) proposed a 'Scale of Communicative Effectiveness' (SCE), intended to be a measure of the learner's ability to capture meaning in rendering the surface form of segments of text dictated between pauses. Weir (1990) refers to 'some evidence' that marking dictations for semantic appropriacy is more reliable than using exact word choice.

There is, too, the wider question of whether dictation is a 'fair' test, in the sense that it requires a reliance on memory that may put L2 listeners at a disadvantage. Two studies comparing dictation performances of

native and non-native speakers showed no significant difference in the range and type of errors made (Fishman 1980, Voss 1984). Fishman concluded that dictation as a test does not disadvantage non-native speakers unfairly.

Having consulted the various sources above we decided that the CLASP dictation should be based on a recording of a native speaker in a 'natural' context, that is, not pre-scripted for the purpose of the test. The chosen text would be divided into segments of increasing length (number of syllables), in order to increase the memory-load and therefore the difficulty of the segments, so as to increase the test's ability to discriminate between GESUM learners, whose level of proficiency varies from post-elementary to upper intermediate/advanced.

3. Pilot study

3.1 Materials

The text used in the dictation was an edited version of a radio interview dealing with the topic of tourism in western Scotland. We judged its content to be fairly typical of the information that GESUM students are exposed to during their Edinburgh course, particularly on the cultural visits and weekend tours that are organised for summer students.

To the dictation text itself was added a short introduction (on both the recording and the student's test script), designed to make the content more accessible. Students were also encouraged (see paragraph 3 of the instructions in Appendix A) to guess if they were uncertain about the precise wording of the original. The dictation text itself contained a total of 121 words. By providing the opening word or words of each segment, we created a target text of exactly 100 words in 11 segments of between 7 and 16 syllables.

The dictation text and marker's guidelines are shown in Appendix B. Misspelt words were not to be penalised if the word suggested that the student had understood, and syntactic or semantic alternatives would be accepted if they were appropriate in context. For examples, see Appendix B.

3.2 Method

The pre-pilot version of the dictation test was tried out in March 1994 with two groups of English teachers: 14 native speakers (IALS staff) and 16 non-native speakers (attending an ESP teacher development course). Scores in the native group were in the range 97-100 and those in the non-native group fell between 68 and 94. On an informal assessment, these scores suggested that the test was not unreasonably demanding, in the light of the natives' performance, and appeared to discriminate even among non-natives with relatively high English proficiency, such as those in the pre-pilot.

As a result of comments from the pre-pilot subjects, a number of text and format adjustments were made to the test sheet. The pilot study proper took place in April 1994. The subjects (n=38) were students entering a full-time general English programme in the April-June term. The dictation was presented as one part of a battery of placement tests, the others being a cloze test and an interview; in this respect the pilot study simulated the GESUM testing situation.

The cloze test comprises 147 items deleted from 13 short passages and the maximum time allowed for its completion is one hour. The interview is based on a *proforma* interview sheet, which the teacher fills in while talking to each student individually. A grade is given in the range 1-5 which, with possible intermediate grades such as 4+ and 3-, represents a 15-point scale.

3.3 Results

A summary of the statistics for the three tests is provided below. Cloze scores are the number of correct answers; Interview scores are converted to a number between 1 and 15; and Dictation scores can be read as a percentage, since the maximum score is 100.

Table 1. CLASP pilot study: Overall descriptive statistics (n=38)

	range	sd	mean
Cloze	2-116	26.92	60.03
Interview	1-15	3.31	8.74
Dictation	2-87	22.76	36.42

The Cloze and Interview were marked in the customary way by the General English course staff, working as a team in the case of the Cloze and alone in the case of the Interview. In order to establish the inter-rater reliability of the Dictation, the three researchers marked all 38 scripts blind, i.e. without consulting each other and without access to the students' other scores, on the basis of the agreed marking protocol (Appendix B).

The mean Dictation figure in Table 1 represents an average of the scores awarded by the three researchers. Comparison of the scores assigned to the Dictation scripts revealed a high level of inter-rater reliability, as shown in the Pearson figures in Table 2.

Table 2. CLASP pilot study: inter-rater correlations on Dictation scores

	Marker 2	Marker 3	Average
Marker 1	0.993	0.994	0.998
Marker 2	-	0.988	0.996
Marker 3	-	-	0.997

In all cases, $p<0.0001$

From these figures it is clear that use of the marking protocol produced a very high degree of consistency in marks assigned.

To examine the primary issue for investigation - the degree of fit between Dictation performances and class placement - the students' scores on all three language measures were correlated with their final class placement, yielding the results shown in Table 3.

Table 3. CLASP pilot study: correlations between entry tests and class placement

	Dictation	Interview	Cloze
placement	0.752	0.807	0.895

$p<0.01$ in all cases

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The high correlation between Cloze and placement (almost 0.9) accords with expectations: Cloze scores are used as the primary means of dividing the students into teaching groups, with the Interview grade used as secondary evidence to adjust up or down if an individual student has scored markedly higher or lower than others with a similar Cloze result.

On the other hand it was rather surprising to find that the Interview/placement correlation was quite so high (approximately 0.8), given that the CLASP project was motivated by the perception that Interview scores could be unreliable. Such a high figure might be taken as evidence that there was more consistency among interviewers than we had supposed. However, as we mentioned earlier, the problem giving rise to CLASP was with the assumed unreliability of the Interview conducted under GESUM conditions, i.e. by a larger number of teachers including those without previous experience of the first-day placement testing.

At this pilot stage, we were interested to note the initial evidence that the relationship between Dictation and placement was not significantly lower (at 0.752) than that for Interview/placement. This suggested that it was worth running the main study under GESUM conditions.

The second issue of particular interest was the statistical relationship between subjects' performances on the three placement test elements. Table 4 shows the Pearson results for individuals' scores.

Table 4. Cloze, Interview and Dictation correlations

	Interview	Dictation ave.
Cloze	0.827	0.840
Interview	-	0.814

p<0.01 in all cases

Although the Interview/Dictation correlation is markedly higher than the figures reported in the previous literature reviewed in section 2, there is no real difference in the relationship between any two of the three measures. In short, the 'triangle' represented by the Cloze, Interview and Dictation measures is equal-sided, at approximately 0.8.

4. Main study

4.1 Materials

We decided to use unaltered the text used in the pilot study and to retain the format agreed on after the pre-pilot study. The GESUM interview sheets are similar to those used for the April-June term course, but are designed to elicit more information. Interview grades are assigned on a nine-point scale (plus intermediates) as opposed to the five-point scale used in the pilot. The third part of the placement battery, a cloze test of 146 items, is also different from the one used in April. Despite the differences of form and content in the two cloze tests, we felt able to make broad comparisons between performances in the pilot and main studies, since an internal IALS report had established a correlation of 0.95 between the two tests.

4.2 Method

4.2.1 Subjects

The data for the main study are scores on the three tests (Cloze, Interview and Dictation) of a total of 263 subjects tested at the second, third and fourth intake points in the GESUM programme in July-September 1994. For students who stayed for more than one course, only the original set of entry scores is included in the data.

4.2.2 General procedure

The first-day GESUM routine is for students to take the Cloze test first, which lasts one hour, with a 10-minute break for the one-to-one interview 'inserted' at different points for different individual students. The Cloze tests are marked by a team of teachers following a strict marking guide. The Cloze scripts are then attached to the Interview sheet (showing the student's grade) and passed to the course director, who allocates students to one of seven levels. The Cloze score is used as the benchmark for placement; the Interview grade (together with information about age, mother tongue, previous learning experience, etc.) is used to make fine-tuning adjustments to produce classes that are as homogenous as possible in terms of their ability to use English. Students return to the test centre after lunch to receive details of their class (level and location).

4.2.3 Dictation procedure

The three student intakes investigated in this study took the Dictation after having been assigned to their class. It had been our intention to administer it on the same day as the two placement tests, but practical difficulties arose with the first intake and we agreed to the GESUM Course Director's suggestion that we move the Dictation to a later day in the first week. So instead of a single first-day dictation session for all incoming students, the Dictation test was administered by each class's main tutor, who also marked their papers. Although this was not the planned testing configuration, we believe that the testing and marking procedure followed in the main study reflects the way in which the Dictation would be used if adopted. There were grounds for confidence that allowing the teachers to administer and mark the Dictation individually (without the opportunity to consult colleagues about marking queries) should not significantly reduce the reliability of the scores assigned, given the very high reliability figures established in the pilot study for teachers following the Dictation marking protocol in isolation.

4.2.4 Data analysis

In autumn 1994 the papers for Dictation, Cloze and Interview were collated and any incomplete sets were removed from the data set. The data for each student were codified as an identifier, the three test scores, class level, age, gender, employment status and first language. Statistical treatment was carried out using SPSS-X.

4.3 Results

A summary of the statistics for the three tests is provided below. The Cloze score shows the number of correct answers (out of 146); Interview scores are converted to a number between 1 and 26; and Dictation scores out of a maximum of 100. It should be borne in mind that only the Dictation figures are directly comparable with those in the pilot study, since the content of the tests in the two studies was identical.

Table 5. CLASP main study: Overall descriptive statistics (n=263)

	range	sd	mean
Cloze	7-99	19.30	51.47
Interview	3-26	4.16	13.64
Dictation	0-78	16.78	30.91

When compared with the pilot study (Table 1), the Cloze and Dictation figures in Table 5 show that the overall proficiency of GESUM students was slightly weaker than that of the April-June students - some 15% lower on both measures. Although the Interview values appear to be higher, this is explained by the shift to the nine-point summer scale.

Again, we consider the pragmatic issue first: how does Dictation compare with Interview in terms of its degree of fit with overall class placement? It will be recalled that the original impetus for the CLASP project came from dissatisfaction felt by both staff and students that some interview grades were unreliable. In assessing whether Dictation is a better predictor, we will make the simplifying assumption that, once any first-week transfers had taken place, the students were in the class which they and their teachers found appropriate. Table 6 shows Pearson correlation figures for the three tests and the student's final class level.

Table 6. CLASP main study: correlations between entry tests and class placement

	Dictation	Interview	Cloze
placement	.525	.613	.801

p<0.01 in all cases

These data indicate a slightly stronger relationship between Interview grade and final placement than between Dictation score and placement. The strongest correlation with class placement is, as in the pilot study, that of performance on the Cloze test.

On the issue of the inter-measure correlations, it will be recalled that the pilot study had found uniformly high values, at around 0.8, among Cloze, Dictation and Interview. We were particularly interested, for the purposes of the current project, in the relationship between GESUM students' performances on Dictation and Interview. Pearson correlation results are shown in Table 7.

Table 7. CLASP main study: Cloze, Interview and Dictation correlations

	Cloze	Interview	Dictation
Cloze	-	0.562	0.559
Interview		-	0.576

p<0.01 for all values

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The measured relationship between all three tests is substantially lower than in the pilot study: approximately 0.6, as opposed to 0.8. But, as in the pilot study, there is again no real difference in the relationship between any two of the three measures, although here the Dictation/Interview correlation is the closest, at 0.576. In the pilot study Dictation/Interview showed the lowest correlation, though at 0.814.

In sum, the evidence from both pilot and main studies is that the Dictation would be marginally less useful than Interview in providing additional information to Cloze scores when making decisions about placement. The inter-test correlations in both studies suggest that Dictation shares as much common ground with the Cloze as it does with Interview. In both cases the strength of correlations was weaker in the larger sample of the main study than in the pilot.

5. Discussion

There are a number of factors that could have resulted in the generally lower correlations in the main study, compared with the smaller-scale pilot. Firstly, it is quite possible that the different circumstances under which the GESUM students took the Dictation had a negative effect on some performances. In the pilot study, incoming students had taken the Dictation as part of the placement battery on the first day of their course. Since the GESUM students took Dictation as an in-class activity two or three days into their course, their motivation may well have been different. For example, there is evidence, in the form of almost blank scripts, that some students with relatively high Interview scores had underachieved; it could be that they took the Dictation less seriously than the placement tests.

Secondly, although we did our best to ensure that the GESUM tutors gave identical instructions to their classes (see Appendix C), we had no direct control over the way in which each tutor actually presented the purpose of the dictation to their students.

Thirdly, there was inevitable variation in the acoustic quality of rooms and of cassette players, which may have played a part in the lower correlation between Dictation and Interview, compared with results from the single dictation test session in the pilot study.

A further possibility is that the GESUM tutors' marking was influenced by the fact that, unlike the pilot study, they were marking their own students' scripts. This could have led to either over- or under-marking, or both, depending on the tutor's perception of the individual student.

The various potential factors we have mentioned are based on the observation that the Dictation/Interview relationship found in the GESUM study seems low, compared to the pilot. However, since the values reported in the research literature on listening and speaking (mentioned in section 2) are generally in the range 0.5-0.6, it is quite possible that the pilot study correlation of some 0.8 is atypically high. Are there any grounds for believing that - apart from its size - the pilot population was different from the subjects in the main study? Arguably, one relevant difference was that many of the 38 pilot study subjects were continuers from the previous IALS term and had been in Britain for at least three months prior to the April placement tests. That period of exposure to spoken English may have enabled those who had arrived with relatively weak listening comprehension to raise their 'listening fluency' to a point where any initial imbalance between spoken- and written-medium skills was minimised. In the case of GESUM, on the other hand, a much smaller proportion of students were continuers, and the lower correlations among Cloze, Interview and Dictation scores may reflect greater intra-personal differences in proficiency in different L2 skill components on arrival in Britain.

To sum up, the 0.6 correlation for Dictation/Interview established in the main study is close to the levels reported elsewhere for listening/speaking measures. Again, as in the pilot study, the triangular relationship between Dictation, Interview and Cloze is to all intents and purposes equilateral. We have no evidence that listening (as represented by our Dictation) can be regarded as a proxy for speaking (as represented by the GESUM Interview). Listening and speaking, as tested in the CLASP study, are as different from each other as they are from the text skills required to do well on the Cloze.

This study arose from a desire on the part of GESUM course directors to make placement more reliable, in order to reduce the number of students (and the amount of staff and student time in what are only three-week courses) involved in inter-class transfers. It may be that a resolution of the problem that motivated the study has emerged, quite independent of the CLASP project. In summer 1994 the number of GESUM transfers was markedly lower than in previous years. We believe that this can be ascribed to any or all of the following four factors. Firstly, the 1994 GESUM courses were held for the first time in the main IALS building, rather than spread over the two or three buildings we have used previously, which are several minutes' walk away; having a more compact and convenient course site seemed to create a more cohesive and settled atmosphere among GESUM participants. Secondly, a larger proportion of the teachers than in other years had previous experience of GESUM in general and of the placement interview in particular. This may have enabled them to make a more informed assessment of individual students' oral ability relative to the demands of the course. Thirdly, the time allowed for our main summer pre-course briefing was extended from two days to three, and one of the effects of this was to make the teaching staff generally more relaxed about the first-day testing arrangements. Finally, there was an overall decrease in GESUM student numbers compared with 1993, resulting in less pressure on staff during the period when placement was being decided.

The interplay of these real-world factors independent of our CLASP study is a salutary reminder that 'ecological' factors in real-life teaching may exert a more powerful influence than the variables one chooses to manipulate experimentally for theoretical reasons.

6. Conclusion

The two interrelated issues we set out to investigate in the CLASP project were the relationship between scores on listening and speaking tests, and the possibility of using a listening test instead of a speaking test for placement purposes. On the first of these, we found that Dictation scores would have been only marginally less effective overall than Interview scores in providing information to supplement Cloze scores when placing students in GESUM classes. On the second, our conclusion is negative: we found that the Dictation cannot be regarded as a proxy measure for the oral productive skills involved in the GESUM Interview.

Our recommendation is for no change: the GESUM Interview should be retained alongside the Cloze for placement purposes. On the available evidence - and probably for a complex mixture of reasons such as those we have discussed - placement based on Cloze and Interview scores was more successful in 1994 than in previous years, in the sense that there were fewer requests for transfer to another class.

However, given our finding that Dictation has approximately the same relationship with placement as Interview does, we suggest that the Dictation should be retained as a fall-back measure, for the course director to use in cases where a student may wish to move class against the advice of her/his current teacher. The supplementary information the Dictation provides on a student's likely performance in class may prove helpful as a more objective measure than the Interview grade - especially in cases where a students feels s/he has been assessed unfairly by the interviewer.

CLASP raises a number of further questions related to placement and mis-placement. In particular, we are aware that the reasons why a student might want to move to a different class are not necessarily linguistic at all; they may be cultural, cognitive or affective - among others. Even when the reasons are linguistic, in the sense of being related to the learner's assessment of her/his level in English in relation to others' in the class, they may relate to different areas of linguistic competence. Are there common patterns in requests for a move? For example, do students who ask for a transfer to a lower class tend to cite as their reason the fact that they are unable to understand the English of the teacher or fellow students? Do those who request a higher class want to move because they feel their level of fluency of production is superior to that of the other class members?

One possible avenue for future research would be to explore in depth the reasons why individual learners request (and teachers recommend) a transfer to another class. Are these reasons open to remedy - for example, by adjusting the grouping within the class so as to keep particular students apart, or to bring them together - or are they perceptions that cannot easily be changed over the period of a three-week course - e.g. differences in perceived language learning needs? A micro-level study on these and similar issues could be useful in assisting course directors to negotiate solutions with individual learners that satisfy all parties in what can be a difficult period of mutual adjustment at the start of a course. Research-based insights that might help reduce the stresses and strains of testing - and being tested - for placement would surely be beneficial for both staff and students in an intensive course such as GESUM.

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Appendix A

DICTATION **NAME:** _____

You are going to hear about Torosay Castle on the Scottish island of Mull. When the present owner, Chris James, inherited Torosay he found it was in need of repair. So to pay the bills, he opened the castle to the public and hired it out for parties.

1st hearing: You will hear the whole text once. Listen, but do not write anything down.

2nd hearing: Now the text will be played in 11 short pieces. For each one, you are give the opening word of words. Try to write down exactly what is said. If you are not sure, guess. Don't worry about spelling or punctuation.

1. Several years

2. had provided

3. in coping

4. but

5. Just

6. Chris James

7. with

8. I think I'd known

9. I think

10. A

11. It does

Finally, you will hear the whole text again once for you to check what you have written. **TOTAL:** _____

Appendix B

DICTATION (CLASP) - Marking instructions

Each word correct counts as one point. There are a total of 100 missing words in the dictation, shown in italics in the transcript below.

Check the student's answer against the original. Count the number of words correct and write in the figure for each box/sentence on the right-hand side.

Add up the total and write it in at the foot of the student's script.

Count as correct:

(a) words in the original text;

(b) words not in the original but appropriate in context, e.g. syntactic alternatives (singular for plural) or semantic alternatives (*'taste'* for *'thirst'* in sentence 4)

(c) misspelt words that suggest the student has understood (e.g. *'rainfull'* for *'rainfall'* in sentence 3, but not *'air'* for *'heir'* in sentence 6)

Count as wrong:

(d) inappropriate words not in the original (e.g. *'a Shelby's house'* for *'a showpiece house'* in sentence 10, or *'rainfall of malt'*)

(e) word salad (correct words in jumbled order)

1. Several years ***spent working on aid projects in hot countries.***	8
2. had provided ***little in the way of experience***	6
3. in coping ***with sodden walls and the rainfall of Mull***	8
4. but ***did give a thirst for the challenges of regeneration***	9
5. Just ***as well as at the age of only thirty***	9
6. Chris James ***fell heir to the post of laird***	7
7. with ***several thousand acres of land attached***	6
8. I think I'd known ***for many years that I might come home to it sooner or later***	13
9. I think ***when it actually came to it I had quite a few sleepless nights***	13
10. A ***showpiece garden and a showpiece house*** but no ***museums these***	10
11. It does ***lend itself to a party - it's got a lovely atmosphere***	11

N.B. ***it's*** or ***it has*** counts as 2 words

Possible total = 100

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Appendix C

Introduction to CLASP for GESUM teachers

To be read out by teachers before administering the dictation:

This morning I am going to give you a short test to measure your listening ability. This will give me/us extra information about your English to help us in our teaching. It is ***not*** *a part of yesterday's placement test.*

The test is a kind of dictation. It is about a Scottish topic, so it should be interesting and useful for you. I will give you this (SHOW ANSWER SHEET) piece of paper to help you. On it we give you the first few words of each section. You must write what you hear. DO NOT WORRY ABOUT SPELLING OR PUNCTUATION. I will play a tape with the dictation on it. You will hear all the instructions on the tape.

Read your answer sheet now.

(Allow 2 minutes)

Now listen and do exactly what the tape tells you.

(Switch on tape)

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ENGLISH/JAPANESE PROFESSIONAL INTERPRETATION: ITS LINGUISTIC AND CONCEPTUAL PROBLEMS

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Abstract

This paper is a study of professional simultaneous interpretation in Japanese and English based on comparative analysis of grammar and discourse. Data recorded at an international conference is analysed. The problems encountered by the interpreters, mainly due to linguistic differences between the two languages, are revealed as being also due to other factors, such as cultural differences, psychological pressure and inadequate training. It is concluded that Japanese/English simultaneous interpretation requires greater awareness of discoursal and cultural differences between the two languages.

1. Background

Japanese/English interpretation is renowned for its difficulty. Yet there appears to be no empirical linguistic study in this area. The professional problems of simultaneous interpretation are highly complex as they concern not only technical and linguistic matters but also psychological pressure or even political environment. In order to clarify the complex web of this special language use, and draw implications for better ways of learning/teaching professional interpretation, a detailed analysis of data collected in a real professional setting is desirable.

2. Definition of terms : translation versus interpretation

According to Newmark:

> In general terms, translation is a cover term that comprises any method of transfer, oral and written, from writing to speech, from speech to writing, of a message from one language to another.

However, he makes the following distinction:

> The term 'translation' is confined to the written, and the term 'interpretation' to the spoken language.
>
> (Newmark 1991: 35-6)

2.1 Translation

Under the category of translation, there are many sub-categories. For example, texts are largely divided into 3 types, 'scientific-technological', 'institutional-cultural', and 'literary' (ibid.).

This is a subject-type categorisation. On the other hand, the reproduction purpose can categorise the translation types differently according to the degree of faithfulness to the original text. Any professional translator or interpreter would agree that it is crucial to represent her client's intention in the original text (source language) as faithfully as possible. This faithfulness is called the *translator's law* by Nida. The 'basic requirements' that constitute the law are as follows:

1. making sense;
2. conveying the spirit and manner of the original;
3. having a natural and easy form of expression;
4. producing a similar response.

(Nida cited in Hatim and Mason 1990:16)

The 'law' implies that 'faithfulness' concerns the author's original intention ('sense, spirit and manner') and the readers' reception ('response') and expectation ('natural, easy expression'). The mediator is the translator who operates on a continuum as below. Hatim and Mason recognise a range of translator's attitudes towards the text - 'author-oriented' and 'reader-centred' translation (ibid.) This may be expressed as a continuum:

author-oriented←——————————→**reader-centred**	
• making sense	• having a natural and easy form of expression
• conveying the spirit and manner of the original	• producing a similar response

In other words, the translator is responsible for the balancing of the requirements of both ends. And the balancing act will allow for variation in the end product without violating the law.

In fact, many translators and translation researchers believe modifications are necessary for the sake of loyalty to the intentions of the original text. Sager justifies modification in his article on *quality and standards of translation* as follows:

> While translation is essentially concerned with the problems of interlingual transfer of messages, the practice of translation requires modifications of texts which are independent of the languages involved. It is therefore convenient to distinguish between the obligatory modifications of linguistic transfer with concomitant pragmatic changes conditioned by cultural differences and the deliberate modifications which are necessitated by a change in function of the translated text. This latter type of modification (selection, reduction, expansion of text) could theoretically be performed prior or subsequent to translation, but in practice these two processes are performed simultaneously.
>
> (Sager 1989:92)

In any case, translators are ethically bound to operate on the text with the utmost care, in order to be faithful to the original text. Delisle's model of a 'heuristic of translation' (see Appendix 1) attempts to display the complex procedure: 'an intellectual activity located at the junction of thought, language, and reality'. According to Delisle,

> Translating requires skills in four broad areas: language, general knowledge, comprehension, and re-expression... the translator must combine linguistic skill with encyclopedic knowledge of the realities comprising the physical and mental universe. One can only translate well what one knows well, and extra-linguisitc knowledge is essential to understanding and reformulating message.
>
> (Delisle 1988:109)

Therefore, when studying translation or interpretation, not only pure linguistic elements but also knowledge of the world should be taken into account. This applies to the aural-oral equivalent, interpretation.

2.2 Interpretation

Interpretation shares its fundamental principles - the translator's law and the implied complexities - with translation. However, since it is an aural/oral activity, *revision* of the end product, which is essential to achieve coherent and faithful reproduction of the original - is usually impossible. Obviously this causes further technical difficulties which we will discuss later.

Professional interpretation falls into two categories, consecutive interpretation and simultaneous interpretation.

In consecutive interpretation, each sentence is not interpreted. Instead the context or the gist is interpreted after certain segments of the original talk by the speaker. The segments can be a few sentences or even a longer unit of the discourse. The speaker stops periodically to allow the interpreter time to insert her version of what he has said.

On the other hand, in simultaneous interpretation, the two languages are synchronized. The speaker does not stop to give time for the interpretation.

2.3 General advantages and disadvantages of consecutive versus simultaneous interpretation

In consecutive interpretation the interpreter has more opportunity to digest the full meaning of the original source text and to encode his/her interpretation in well-formed sentences, as a piece of planned discourse. Thus the product can be more accurate in two respects: (i) greater fidelity to the source text; and (ii) fewer lexical and grammatical errors in the target text. A disadvantage of consecutive interpretation is that success depends on the interpreter's summarising skills: his/her ability to pick out the salient points and relate them to each other coherently. There is some risk that the final product may deviate from the speaker's intentions. The interpreter could 'misinterpret' the original in the process of reducing it to a summary.

On the other hand, simultaneous interpretation does not allow the interpreter time to digest and compose a summary of the original text. Thus the product is more likely to be closer to the development of the original discourse. And most of all, it is time-efficient, which is one of the main reasons why simultaneous interpretation is ousting the consecutive at international conferences. But this time factor is also the greatest cause of technical and psychological pressure on the interpreter. The interpreter is virtually groping for what comes next in the logical development of the original discourse. If the pressure is too high, more errors, mistakes or slips can occur.

	ADVANTAGE	DISADVANTAGE
CONSECUTIVE	More time available for interpretation	Time-consuming
SIMULTANEOUS	Time-efficient	Interpreter may lose track (because of the unpredictability)

The above are from the point of view of the interpreter. But there is another, most important, aspect of interpretation, which is intelligibility to the audience. From the audience's point of view, simultaneous interpretation may sound not only more efficient but also more comprehensible, because we imagine a fluent discourse with a natural flow. On the other hand, one might assume that consecutive interpretation is rather distracting because of its interrupted discourse.

Is this true? We will find out using actual data of simultaneous interpretation sampled at an international conference. But first, we will look into the details of skills involved in simultaneous interpretation.

3. Simultaneous interpretation

3.1 Types of simultaneous interpretation and their technical problems

Our first concern is the technical nature of simultaneous interpretation in general. We will clarify the character of this activity, then discuss its particular technical difficulties both for the interpreter and the audience.

Within simultaneous interpretation, there are various types of operation. For example, for a business negotiation, 'whispering' is often used, and at a large international conference a pair of interpreters for each language may go into a booth with headphones on. They usually take turns. One can help the other by giving notes while s/he is performing. The interpretation product will reach the audience via microphone and earphone.

There is also another means of categorization according to the amount of preparation and rehearsal done by the speaker and his/her interpreter. This is called 'briefing'.

Usually, in Japan at least, the simultaneous interpreter is given some information about the spoken text which s/he is going to intepret. Prior to the actual speech, the speaker is supposed to give copies of the lecture, or at least some memos, to the simultaneous interpreter. Ideally the simultaneous interpreter and the speaker will have a discussion on the content and how to interpret it. For broadcasting, a simultaneous interpreter may listen to the tape at least a few times in order to get the gist and take some notes. This thorough preparation is crucial for a satisfactory interpretation.

But the other type of interpretation is absolutely spontaneous. This is generally perceived as the most demanding interpretation of all. The greater unpredictability plays havoc with the preservation of the original discourse. The pressure on the simultaneous interpreter is described by Glemet as follows:

> As you are following the speaker you start a sentence. But as you start a sentence you are taking a step in the dark, you are mortgaging your grammatical future: the original sentence may suddenly be turned in such a way that your translation of its end cannot easily be reconciled with your translation of its start.
>
> (Glemet in Gerver 1976:168)

Since it is a synchronized performance of the speaker and the interpreter, the interpreting end-product heavily depends on the speaker/intepreter relationship. Robinson says:

> The interpreter may have a good feeling about one speaker, may feel that he or she is eminently predictable... Another speaker is different; ...even before he or she begins to speak the interpreter knows there is going to be trouble... words come out in a sudden flood of almost incoherent verbiage, which then stops while the speaker digs ferociously at an ear, giving the interpreter time to catch up, of course, but along with the time a case of the heebie-jeebies. The easiest speaker to follow may also be the most boring, so that the interpreter finds it hard to stay alert.
>
> (Robinson 1991: 28-9)

3.2 Scientific analysis of simultaneous interpretation

The above is of course a subjective analysis of the technical difficulties of simultaneous interpretation. However, this clearly suggests the psychological pressure on the interpreter during her performance.

More scientific analysis has been done based upon a theory of 'ear-voice span', *the amount of time an interpreter takes according to the textual difficulty*.

Gerver found that 'the optimal input rate for simultaneous interpretation was between 95 and 120 words per minute' (Gerver 1976:172-73). And this has had a practical effect for professional interpreters. For example Hara, a Japanese-English interpreter, says in her guide book for interpreters

> Prior to the lecture at briefing, it is advisable to ask your speaker to read his paper at a speed of 2 to 3 minutes per 230 words. (Hara 1994:42)

So it is clear that there is a strong correlation between the speed of input and interpreters' performance.

What we are concerned with in this paper is the correlation between the linguistic or conceptual items in the text and the interpreter's performance. Since it is impossible to separate the time factor and the content factor, the data is designed to show both. When a problem is identified, it will be looked at from both points of view: possible time factor and possible linguistic or conceptual factors.

In order to reduce the amount of culture-specific variables, highly technical scientific texts are preferred. Newmark says that the more technical and specialized the text is, the less culture-specific knowledge it requires. (Newmark 1991)

4. Data

The setting was an international conference of an organization called IPPNW[2] (International Physicians for Prevention of Nuclear War) in Hiroshima, Japan in 1989. This data was collected during free discussion and questions following a panel discussion on 'Chemical and Biological Weapons and IPPNW.'

The data was originally audio-recorded, then transcribed on a graph paper as shown in Appendix 2. Every 0.5 second was marked on the graph paper. Underneath are three lines:

Line 1: the original speech transcribed with romanization of the Japanese sounds.
Line 2: a gloss giving the lexical equivalents in the source language (speaker's language).
Line 3: the interpreter's product.

A comparison of lines 1 and 2 with line 3 shows syntactic differences and ear-voice span.

The data was also transcribed as in Appendices 3 and 4. The flat transcription of the interpreter's performance in English (Appendix 4) is designed to highlight the contents of the discourse - lexical use, grammar, discoursal links, the flow of discourse, as well as the professional techniques, for example, how s/he deals with slips, errors, mistakes or unpredictable development of the logic of the discourse.

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[1]**Ear-voice span:** '... when the input language is straightforward, the interpreter will be a regular 2 or 3 seconds behind the speaker. But when an unexpected textual difficulty emerges, or the speaker suddenly speeds up, the delay may increase, with a consequential 'knock-on' effect that may take some time to resolve. During this period, when he ear-voice span is several seconds long, the interpreter's cognitive linguistic processing abilities are under great pressure.' (Crystal 1987:349)

[2]**IPPNW** (International Physicians Prevention of Nuclear War) was founded in 1980, led by two prominent cardiologists, Dr. Evgueni Chazov of the (former) USSR Cardiological Institute and Dr. Bernard Lown of Harvard School of Public Health. Physicians from the former Soviet Union and the USA held the first meeting from which the international organisation, consisting of 20,000 physicians, and scientists in various fields from more than 80 countries, emerged. Their aims are: to inform and educate the public world-wide about the medical and scientific consequences of nuclear war; and to demonstrate the value of cross-national cooperation on medical and scientific researches for the prevention of man-made catastrophes. Issues dealt with range from medicine chemical-biological science to social welfare, human rights and politics. IPPNW was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1985 for 'considerable service to mankind by spreading authoritative information and by creating an awareness of the catastrophic consequences of atomic welfare.'

In addition, a tentative ideal translation is given of the Japanese original. The definition of an ideal interpretation is itself uncertain of course; but this might be called an example of an interpretation which is as close as possible to the original in the sense that it follows the logical development of the discourse step-by-step using each lexical equivalents. This will give some idea to non-Japanese speakers of how the original Japanese speech is composed. And it will later be used for a discussion of cultural variation of 'logic' in discourse.

5. Analysis

5.1 General view

The transcriptions show that the discourse of the interpreted text is full of hesitations, pauses, and paraphrasing. There is also significant topic shift (from the speaker's personal experience to his protest against American government's new scientific project).

Because of these factors, the product is, to some extent, distracting to the audience contradicting our initial assumptions about simultaneous interpretation. The data given in Appendix 2 include signs of non-fluent discourse such as:

1. long pause (a long period of silence in the middle of a speech makes the audience nervous);
2. interpreter's voice shaking or suddenly changing pitch;
3. interpreter's sighs, hesitation noises etc.

Interpretation problems due to the interpreter's poor command of the languages or lack of experience

One might wonder whether this interpreter can speak good English, or understand Japanese. When an interpreter makes mistake , her command of languages is questioned whether justifiably or not. Should the problems here be attributed to the interpreter's poor command of the languages?

Actually, the interpreter in question is claimed to have an outstanding command of English (at least TOEFL 630 or TOEIC 860) even before she took up this occupation. Of course results of English proficiency tests do not necessarily guarantee her native-like command of English, yet unless proficiency tests like TOEFL are totally valueless, we should give the interpreter some credit for her command of English.

→ ❶ **Command of the target language (English) is not inadequate.**

Then the next question is her command of Japanese. We know that she is a native speaker and judging from her background and normal conversation, she has an excellent command of Japanese (I met this interpreter at work, and she does speak sophisticated Japanese).

→ ❷ **Command of the source language (Japanese) is not inadequate.**

What about her work experience? Apparently, she has considerable experience in interpreting for international conferences.

→ ❸ **The interpreter does not lack experience**.

On these facts, a possible explanation of the problems of the interpretation - the interpreter's command of languages is poor - is rejected.

Interpretation problems due to the original speaker's poor performance.

The next question is whether the original speaker's speech was poorly intelligible. It is hard to define intelligibility in an objective sense. Although it may not have been easily comprehended by the interpreter, it could still have been a perfect speech for the audience, or vice versa. This argument involves individual variables, so the quality of the original speech will be examined only in the most general way: how the audience responded to it.

In this case, the speech was generally accepted by the Japanese audience without any obvious linguistic problem. Probably it is fair to say the original speech was perfectly acceptable. If not an excellent speech that would appeal to an international audience, it is still a typical Japanese speech of the kind. The main cause of the interpretation problems does not appear to be a fault in the original speech.

Then, is the cause of this unintelligibility dependent on the nature of simultaneous interpretation?

5.2 Points to be identified in the analysis of the data

Let us refer to the transcript of the performance (see Appendix 2). As we said, the first line shows the original speech by the Japanese physiologist. The second line is a word-for-word translation inserted to show the word order in the Japanese original. The third line is the actual interpretation. The numbers on the graph above the first lines show every second of time. Thus, the graph shows us the ear-voice span. On this graph, we can identify the following points:

1. Ear-voice span
2. Lexical errors/mistakes (equivalent word, connotation etc.)
3. Differences between structures in Japanese/English
4. Sentential errors/mistakes (e.g. agglutinating vs inflecting language, tense, etc.)
5. Discoursal errors/mistakes (e.g. conjunctions, references, logical development, etc.)

The ear-voice span will not only mark technical difficulties, but also suggest the cause of the difficulties that the interpreter might have had at each particular time.

5.3 Linguistic and sociolinguistic problems

At the lexical level, quite surprisingly for a near-native speaker of English, there are numerous errors and mistakes in the performance. There are problems with articles, prepositions, which are typical of a native speaker of Japanese, and confusion of similar words like 'contrary to our consciousness... conscience... ness'. And there are more stylistic problems. Also there are many words which were not interpreted at all.

However, as far as intelligibility is concerned, seemingly it is not only the words that affect the comprehension.

The most obvious cause of the problems at sentential level is the difference between Japanese, an SOV language, and English which is SVO. The difference in word order means delay in ear-voice span. It is a well-known fact that Japanese into English and German subordinate clauses are one of the most problematic areas for simultaneous interpretation, as is pointed out by Crystal. (Crystal 1987:349)

Another problem at the structural level is, as we expected, that of tense/aspect.
Two main reasons come to mind :

1. Japanese verbs appear at the very end of long sentence with lengthy insertions. Thus in English interpretation, the interpreter has to predict what time reference the speaker is going to use.

2. Japanese time reference is more aspectual - i.e. perfective and imperfective - than English. In other words, the concept of 'time' is not identical.

Next come the problems at discoursal level. This is an analysis which looks at the data as a whole text. For example, combination of sentences, referential markers to previous sentences or paragraph, and logical development (coherence) are studied.

In the audio-recorded data, the speech sounds rather incoherent towards the end, especially when the topic shifted from the physiologist's experience to a protest against Japan's development of chemical/biological weapons seemingly under political pressure from the USA.

According to the ear-voice span, there is a significant delay at this point of 118-128 sec. Here, the unit; 'Solewasoletoshite-soshite seibutsu heiki' is poorly interpreted in 129.5 -134 seconds.

It was as late as 129 sec. when the interpreter started. By the time she started the interpretation with a conjunction 'solewasoletoshite' (roughly meaning, 'that-is-that'), the original speaker had moved onto the next topic, a news broadcast about America's political pressure on Japan to develop chemical and biological weapons. This delay seems to have been caused by two factors.

1. A knock-on effect from the previous topic - the physiologist's own experience of rejection of his superior's order to conduct inhuman research for military purposes.

2. The conjunction 'solewasoletoshite' marks a change of topic. Normally it is translated as 'by the way'. The interpreter may have chosen to wait until the new topic was clear to her.

Also within 119-127 sec., the interpreter spends 2.5 seconds on hesitation noise ('err'). Here, her interpretation is clearly disturbed. This disturbance occurs while she is closing the previous topic to move onto the next. This fact reinforces our impression that there is a cause of linguistic difficulty related to the conjunction. The conjunction 'solewasoletoshite' actually is a combination of 5 words.

5.4 Choice of demonstratives

Japanese	Sole	wa	sole	to	shite
English equivalents	that	is	that	as	do (make)
Grammar	*demonstrative*	particle	*demonstrative*	particle (Aux.Vb 'tali')	Verb 'suru' + Aux.'ta' [in imperat.ve mood]
	anaphoric ref.	topic mrkr	anph.ref.	statement mrkr	make (perfective)
	that	is	that-as-(it)-remains-(so)		

⇨ **That's that; By the way; So much for that, etc.** ***(common translation)***

But this has a culturally specific meaning behind it which is:

⇨ **that (what has been said previously) is made to exist there as is**

➔ **Bearing this in mind** ***(conceptual translation)***

- ***Referential problem***

The demonstrative 'that' which acts as a conjunction here in Japanese actually marks an anaphoric reference. Altogether, it means, 'Let us make the previous topic remain there as it is' in Japanese. And the discoursal connotation is 'Bearing this in mind'. Therefore, a better translation of this topic-shift conjunction would be:

'..... that was my own experience of scientific research for military use. Now, bearing this in mind,

In this way, the cumbersome topic shift in English is erased as follows;

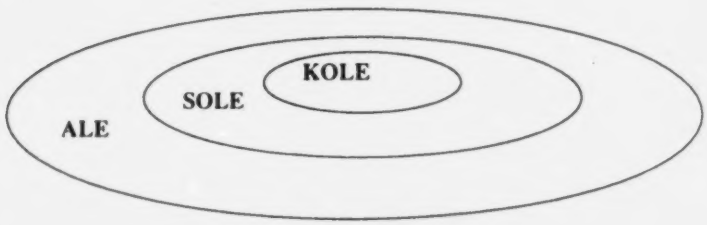
> '... I rejected my senior's order. That was my own experience of scientific research for military use. Now, bearing this in mind, what concerns me recently is the following topic - the recent project on the development of chemical/biological weapons....'

- ***Deixis illuminating cultural mind***

Coming back to the 'that' in Japanese (the demonstrative KOLE), we can find another culturally bound linguistic cause for the interpretation problem.

KOLE is one of three Japanese spatial deictic items.
Morphemes KO, SO, A indicate distance between the speaker and the entity referred to. The entity can either be concrete or abstract as above. The diagram below shows the idea.

ALE	SOLE	KOLE	SOLE	ALE
Distall ⇔	Medial ⇔	Proximal ⇔	Media ⇔	Distal
The Speaker				

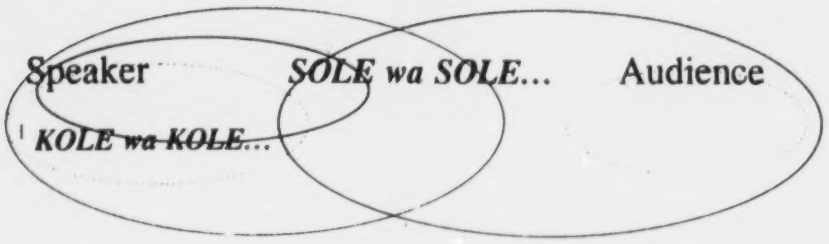


These deictic items are subjective to the speaker's judgment of physical and psychological distance between the speaker him/herself and the thing or notion (either concrete or abstract) referred to.

Therefore, which distance indicator the speaker uses implies the speaker's attitude towards the thing referred to. For example, if the speaker is talking about something abstract, the closer the spatial deixis the speaker used, the more relevant the referred item is, to what he is talking about in his discourse. In other words, when this **deixis-*wa*-deixis-*to-shite*** is used as a discoursal linker, the speaker can indicate his view of how closely related are the passage he has just finished and the next passage he will produce - how relevant the two passages he uttered are to each other.

Also, the deictic items indicate the speaker's recognition of the closeness to his audience. In the three-step distance marking system, KOLE is exclusive to the speaker, SOLE is more inviting to the audience - sharing an entity somewhere between the speaker and the audience. ALE is away from both the speaker and the audience.

ALE wa ALE



ALE wa ALE

1. The speaker's chooses a demonstrative as referential item to show his view about the degree of relevance of the topic to the previous topic.

2. Each choice of a demonstrative indicates the speaker's expectation of the degree of speaker-audience involvement (i.e. sharing an entity, which is the idea that the speaker has previously talked about - protesting against superior's inhuman order even risking his life.)

KOLE
I am actually a physiologist + **Kole-wa-kole-to-shite** + *I am protesting against America's new chemical weapon..*
= I am primarily a physiologist, *but at the same time/ it's my business*, I am protesting against America's chemical weapon.

SOLE
I am actually a physiologist + **Sole-wa-sole-to-shite** + *I am protesting against America's new chemical weapon..*
= My occupation is physiology (and as ***you** may imagine, I care about human health), bearing this in mind, I'm protesting against America's chemical weapon.

* inclusive. invitation to the audience's empathy.

ALE
I am actually a physiologist + **Ale-wa-ale-to-shite** + *I am protesting against America's new chemical weapon...*
= Yes, it's true that I am a physiologist, but that's irrelevant, I am protesting against America's new chemical weapon.
[This distancing indicator suggests that probably he is doing something that a physiologist is not normally associated with..... He might be actively protesting against America's new chemical weapon...]

Spatial Deixis	meaning	Relevance degree	Audience Involvement
1. Kole-wa-Kole-to-shite	As this fact remains here...	Proximation Highly relevant	Exclusive (only concerns S)
2. Sole-wa-Sole-to-shite	(So much for that but) Bearing this in mind...	Mediation (although the topic changes in fact it is still) Relevant	Inclusive (Concerns both S & A)
3. Ale-wa-Ale-to-shite	Be that as it may.... but it's irrelevant...	Distancing Irrelevant	Distant from both the speaker and the audience

5.5 Sociolinguistic factors

The above interpretation may still leave us slightly confused. The two things, the speaker's own experience and the scientific project of the Japanese Self-Defense Force, do not appear to be directly relevant to each other.

Relevance is, to some extent, a culturally biased matter. Successful speech is convincing. It is convincing because it in line with the listener's expectations of an acceptable logical development, a succession of relevant discourse. Relevance presupposes the following considerations shared between the people engaged in the verbal communication.

1. what to say
2. how much to say
3. how (in what fashion) to say it

Grice called these rules the 'cooperative principle' which he reduced to the following four maxims;

1. The maxim of quality
2. The maxim of quantity
3. The maxim of relevance
4. The maxim of manner

According to Grice, these maxims make for a successful verbal communication. However, the problem is, recent research in discourse and relevance suggest that the operation of these maxims varies from culture to culture. For example, in the original Japanese speech, the physiologist's personal experience in rejecting his superior's inhuman order displays his moral excellence, therefore his protest against the recent research must be accepted and appreciated by the audience. Although this sounds far-fetched, it can be explained by Japanese social codes. Total obedience towards one's senior is an unwritten law, yet his obligations and conscience led him to risk his life to protest against the senior's order. This fact is most appealing to the Japanese mind. It satisfies the norm of the virtue, the way of a 'pure and straight - holy' life. Particularly the fact that he had almost sacrificed his life for the sake of other lives is expected to stir up deep empathy in Japanese minds, creating closeness between the speaker and the audience. And the closeness rejects further explanation about why the speaker brought up the topic of the recent chemical/biological weapons. It likewise rejects any close examination of his views on the topic.

It is important to re-emphasize this deliberate creation of 'closeness' from the grammatical aspect. Notice the conjunction SOLE-WA-SOLE-TO-SHITE falls into the medial category of the Japanese three-way spatial demonstratives.

This cultural/social and conceptual aspect of discourse makes the interpretation highly complex. Needless to say, it is almost impossible to perform simultaneous interpretation when it comes to conceptual differences.

6 Conclusion

As we have seen briefly, interpretation involves not only technical and linguistic difficulties but also conceptual problems. Yet, the current education system for interpreters in Japan does not emphasize this aspect. Rather an enormous amount of time and effort is spent on technical aspects such as memorizing useful expressions, and so on.

The data suggests that the main problems are the conceptual aspects within and behind the linguistic items. Investigation into this area at various linguistic levels, morphological, structural, discoursal, sociological etc., may illuminate code-switching between Japanese and English, in which more efficient and accurate ways of interpretation may be sought.

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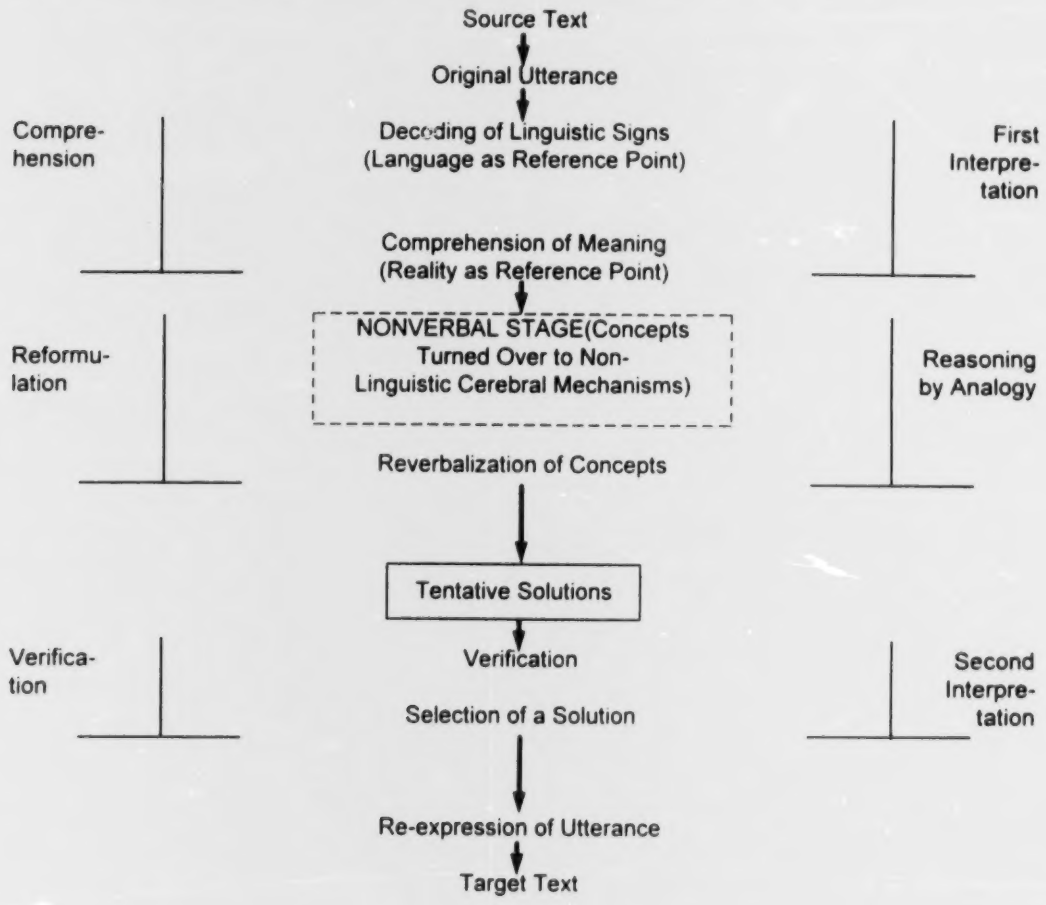
Appendix 1
Delisle's model of *Heuristics of Translation*

Figure 4
Heuristics of Translation



(Delisle 1988: 69)

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Appendix 2
Data (graph paper version: sample page)

① Ah (clearing throat) Watakushiwa, E, Nihon, E, Nihonno Fukushima toyū machi no daigaku ninatteru (Fukushima so-called town of university for long time)
I Japan Japan's
Well... Let me introduce myself I am

② dosite gakuchu Watashinisenmonwa, Fijioroji, Seirigaku nandesuga Watakushiwasensōchūni, Jainji Pekinnishi
as well as research (medical) my specialty physiology physiology-be but I war-during WWII during Beijin
being working for University in Fukushima, and I was, I am a physician, especially I study a physiologist I myself during wartime work

③ tokini, gunte hikidasareta 7.3.1 butainoshibutai, Pekinnoshibutai no nakade Watakushiwajinjikkennotameni
when army drafted-be 7.3.1 unit of division Beijin division of inside I human experiment for
I was drafted into the army, and I was I joined to the division seven three one and I was sent to Beijing,

④ Watakushino kenkyū washōchōnokenkyūdeshitanade, Jutaichō toyū jōkan ni, ningennohaterani Fukushiki Abdominaru Bōdon
(I my cf) research small intestine so be(perf.) C.O. so-called Senior by human abdomen Abdominal Method Abdominal window
and I had made some human experiments in Beijing University. I was instructed by my subordinate to do the following opera-

⑤ tsukute sochisesoreo kantsūjūsō, hohejūdematte kantsūjūsōshite, chōnonaiyō ga sotonideniyōni suruniwa ikanaru
make and then that short through rifle with short through intestine content outside to-exit not do what kind
tions Abdominal Ex. er. operation have to be done. and we penetrated the abdominal space or. In order for

⑥ yū meireio ukemashite, chōtokinisiteiwa, Chūgokujinno horyo, aruiwa gaikokujinnohoryoosukatteyoroshiiyū meireidesaemashitakedomo, Sorega
such order receive clearly that be Chinese captive, or foreign captive use allow such order be(perf.) however that
was perforated, and not the internal organs of abdomen be exposed to the outside. What we could do to prevent from the internal organs to expose to the outside. There was the objective of...

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Appendix 3
Data (A flat transcription of the original Japanese speech in Roman script.)

Ah, (clearing throat) Watakushiwa, Eh, Nihon, Eh, Nihon no Fukushima to yu machi no daigaku ni nagaku tsutomete otta isha deatte igakusha. Watashino senmon wa, Fijiorojii, Seirigaku nandesu ga Watakushi wa senso-chu ni, Dainiji-sekai-taisen chu ni, Pekin-daigaku no sensei no toki ni, guntai ni shoshu salete 7.3.1-butai no shibutai, Pekin no shibutai no nakade Watakushi wa jintai-jikken o meizelaleta taiken ga alimasu.

Watakushi no kenkyu wa shocho no kenkyu deshita node, butaicho to yu jokan ni, ningen no hala ni Fukusoho, Abudominaru-Bindo o tsukutte soshite sole o kantsujuso, hoheiju de motte kantsujuso shite, cho no naiyo ga soto ni denai yo ni suru niwa ikanaru kusuli o tsukaeba yoi ka to yu, meilei o ukemashite, akilakani sole wa, chugokujin no holyo, aluiwa, gaikokujin no holyo o tsukatte yoloshii to yu meilei de alimashita keledomo, sole wa, watakushi wa, ningen no inochi o sokonau kikensei de alu dokolo ka, akilaka ni koloshite mo yoi to yu jitai de alimashita node, Watakushi wa gakusei-jidai, aluiwa, jibun no taiken kala, ningen o hito ga, hito o, koloshite wa ikan, aluiwa kolosukoto ni chishiki o kashite wa ikan to yu, nisen-gohyaku-nen mae no Hipokulatesu no chikai o moto ni shite, Watakushi wa jokan no meilei o kyohi shita taiken ga alimasu.

Sole-wa-sole-to-shite, ima, watashi ga ima shinpai shite imasu no wa, minasan no kakuheiki, soshite seibutsu-heiki ga, ima, Nihon ga sole o yalo to shite illu to yu koto desu.

Sakunen no shogatsu, NHK de Nihon no Boeicho wa, Boeicho no naka ni kagaku-heiki bogyoi, bogyoi o Boeicho no jieitai no taiin ni zenbu haikyu suru.

Soshite boeicho no naka ni kagaku-heiki ni kansulu alui wa seibutsu-heiki ni kansulu kenkyu o hajimeru yohodo ga nasale mashita.

Watakushi wa, konnna jotai wa, Nihon no lekishi, sekai no lekishi ni gyakko sulu mono to omoimasu keledomo, zannen nagala, sono jijitsu wa, shinko shite ilu yo de alimasu.

Danjo no minasama, ittai, Amelika wa, naze, Nihon ni iloilo no soyu kagaku-heiki shotai, osolaku Amelika no kibo ni yotte soyu mondai ga dete ilu to omoimasu keledomo, Amelika no sensei-tachi, Naze, soyu koto o Amelika wa sulu ka to yu koto o hakkili minasan no ho kala, Amelika no seifu, Amelika no gunbu ni, hantai-iken o tsuyoku dashite itadaki tai.

Watakushi wa shitsumon to yu yoli onegai o moshi agete, watakushi no komento o owalimasu.

Appendix 4
Data (A flat transcription of the interpreter's product)

Well... let me introduce myself, I am... actually I had been working for University in Fukushima, and I was, I ... am a physician, especially I would say a physiologist.... I myself, during the second world war, ... I was drafted into the army..., and I wor..., I joined to the division 731, and I was sent to Beijin, and I had to do some human experiments in Beijing University.... I was instructed by my subordinate to do the following operation... Abdominal... er, er, operation have to be done, and we penetrated the abdominal space, err, in order for when the abdomen be exposed to the outside. What we could do to prevent from the internal organs to expose to the outside. That was the objective of the er, sur, er, surgery. And we had to employ the captive, as a subject of the operations. In those days I felt, that... that was err, quite contrary to our consciousness... er, conscience...ness, and err, I had err, dead... dread experience. I firmly believed that we had no rights to kill the err, people, nor the knowledge be accumulated, err... to the extent that accumulated technology could assist the killing of other people. I actually er, rejected the order by the err, subordinate in the army, err, to do the operation at Beijing University. Now we are talking about chemical and biological weapons. The country of Japan is almost start the development researches in those areas. Last year, Japanese Self Defense Agency of the Japanese government, ... the TB anounced, (sigh for 2 sec.) the Self Defense Agency is going to provide a protective clothing for the Self Defense Army.., for any... err, defence purposes against the chemical weapons. And the Self Defense Agency according to the reporter, err, was going to start researches err, in the area of the err, chemical weapoons in the name of the defence. I believe that if that decision was correct, that it was the decision is against the sentiment of the people at this present time. I wonder, why the United States...., (sigh in the middle of this 0 sec. of silence).

Err, I believe that if there are, were any request from the United States for the Japanese government, err, to conduct such kind of researches. I really wish that scientists and researchers, from the United Stated, to protects, pro, pro, protest, err, against any, err, threat or thrust of the United States government of the army for Japan to conduct such kind of researches, if the information was correct. Thank you Mr.chair... Madam chairman.

Appendix 5
Data (an 'ideal' interpretation close to the original word order in Japanese)

*** words in [ ] are inserted for the sake of coherence.**

Well, let me introduce myself. In Fukushima in Japan there is a university at which I worked for a long time as a doctor as well as a scientist.

My speciality is physiology - Seiligaku in Japanese.
During the war - World War 2 - , when I ws a lecturer at Beijing University, I was drafted into the army, and was in a division of 731 unit - that was the Beijing division, I was given an order to experiment on living bodies.

My research was on the small intestine, so the Officer Commanding - my senior - gave me an order. [The experiment was as follows.]

Inside human abdomens, an abdominal window was to be made, and then this was to be shot through with a rifle. Then the contents of the intestine were to be examined. How we could prevent the intestine from coming out even when the abdomen was shot through [was the question], and what sort of medicine would be best for this purpose. This was the research objective ordered.

Obviously it meant that Chinese captives or other foreign captives were to be used for the experiment. And that was the command.

However, that was, I thought, an operation that endangered human life. Also it evidently accepted killing humans for research.

So..... my time at university and my own experience in life made me think that one man must not kill another, and one must not lend one's knowledge to support murder - which was the 2,500 year old Hippocratic oath. On the basis of this oath, I rejected my senior's order. [So much for my experience.]

Well, bearing this in mind, now, what worries me is the chemical weapons and the biological weapons which now Japan has begun to take up.

On New Year's day two years ago, NHK, the Japanese Broadcasting Corporation, reported that the Japanese Defense Agency had decided that in the Agency, chemical weapon protective clothing would be distributed to all members of the Self Defense Forces.
And inside the Defense Agency, chemical or biological weapon research would be begun.

In my view, the news was going against Japanese history, and World history [since WW2].

However, regrettably this situation is still seemingly [worsening].

Ladies and gentlemen on the panel, I wonder, why the United States, in its relationship with Japan....[is introducing] such various chemical weapons to Japan.

Probably at America's request, suvh issues have been raised.

But ladies and gentlemen from the United States, why does the American government put pressure on the Japanese government in this matter?
[This is what] I would like you to question the American government and its army [about].

And I wish that you would strongly protest to the government of the U.S.A. and its army on this matter.

I shall make this plea rather than a question as my comment on this session.
Thank you.

THE ANALYSIS OF WARTIME REPORTING: PATTERNS OF TRANSITIVITY

Noriko Iwamoto (DAL)

Abstract

This paper is an attempt to explore the relationship between linguistic structure and socially constructed reality. This research takes the view that the language in a certain text structures its own 'fictional' reality. In order to clarify this process, the theory of transitivity in Functional Grammar will be applied to Japanese wartime newspaper reporting; thus I intend to demonstrate how an unconventional or 'deviated' world is shaped by language in response to certain social demands. This study is an attempt to examine an area where systemic grammar, pragmatics and sociolinguistics meet.

1. Introduction

This paper on language and politics explores the use of language for propaganda purposes during the Second World War in Japan[1]. I examine, principally from a semantico-syntactic point of view, how linguistic resources are used to systematise, transform, and sometimes mask reality. In wartime, a strong form of solidarity and control is essential as a device for unification and for maintaining a people's morale. For this purpose, mystification is utilised to reconstruct reality and to obscure unwanted aspects of reality or threats to national goals. Language plays a significant role in this. Hitler proclaimed that 'revolutions are made solely by the power of the word.' To provide an analysis of the range and complexity or propaganistic language[2], transitivity theory within the framework of Functional Grammar will be used to examine the wartime newspaper texts of Japan.

1.1 'Linguistically constructed world'

My analysis of language and politics is primarily based on the idea that, as suggested by the structuralists Sapir (1956) and Whorf (1956), 'the world is linguistically constructed.' This assumption implies that language not only reflects reality, but also acts as a 'barrier' to reality, and constrains our perception of it. It follows, as a result, that language constitutes, and even manipulates, our thought and world-view. Nevertheless, it is important not to adopt an extreme version of Whorfianism or linguistic determinism, for speakers are not so naive or uncritical as to be passively constrained by their linguistic constructions. It would also be misleading to overemphasise the role of language in perceiving reality, which can even be taken to mean that there is no world outside the self; a type of solipsism.

In the specific case of journalistic reports, however, which are the subject of this paper, it is only through language that past events are reconstructed and presented to us (Kress 1983). In this sense, 'the world is linguistically constructed' in journalism, and it follows that there are alternative ways of describing 'reality' (Burton 1982:200). Such subjective representation of the external world is variously termed as 'projection' or 'representation' (Halliday 1985), 'speech and thought presentation' (Leech and Short 1981) and 'disclosure representation' (Volosinov 1986, Fairclough 1989). As Volosinov (1986) notes, 'journalism possesses semiotic values, has its own kind of orientation toward reality, to refract reality in its own way' (cf. Wang 1993:560). By these means, journalists or propagandists, whether consciously or subconsciously, take advantage of linguistic resources, exploiting certain grammatical constructions or naming systems to 'manipulate' people's thought and behaviour. As an example, let us look at how two British newspapers reproduced the same event so differently, based on Trew's (1979) analysis. Trew

examines the following news coverage of 2 June 1975, which reported an event of civil disorder in pre-independent Zimbabwe:

< Headline >

Police Shot 11 Dead in Salisbury Riot

< Body >

Riot police shot and killed 11 African demonstrators and wounded 15 others .....

(*The Guardian*)

< Headline >

Rioting Blacks Shot Dead by Police as ANC Leaders Meet

< Body >

Eleven Africans were shot dead and 15 wounded when Rhodesian police opened fire on a rioting crowd of about 2,000 .....

(*The Times*)

(Trew 1979:98)

In the first place, lexical selection in these texts clearly reflects the difference of political stance of each newspaper: the 'African demonstrators' of the *Guardian* are expressed as 'rioting blacks' and 'a rioting crowd' in the *Times*. Syntactically, as well, the *Guardian* adopts active constructions, thereby foregrounding the 'police' as an element directly responsible for the 'killings'. By contrast, the *Times* employs passive constructions, thereby placing 'rioting blacks' in a prominent position while backgrounding the 'police' (the causer of killings) in a less focal position. In addition, the causal transaction (who did what to whom) is more vaguely expressed in the body part of the *Times*. Such clear-cut constructions as 'X shot and killed Y' are not used there as in the *Guardian*; instead, the construction 'Y were shot dead when X opened fire' is used, thereby weakening the causal relationship between the 'firing' and the 'killings'. Trew contends that these differences in lexical and syntactic choices result from the political orientation of each newspaper: the *Guardian* is more sympathetic to 'African demonstrators', the *Times* to the 'police'. Here, we can recognise how two different worlds are linguistically created out of the same reality. Thus, language not only reflects reality, but also manipulates reality. In wartime Japan, information sources were severely restricted and so the degree of reliance on the press as the citizens' source of world knowledge was heavier than during any other period. People were, therefore, required to build their own reality from whatever elements they could find, especially in newspapers.

The main theme of this paper is to analyse how a certain 'world' was deliberately built up in the wartime press in Japan. Specifically, I shall look at the process by which an undesirable reality or 'defeat' was transformed and presented in the newspaper is as if it had been a victory in order to avoid a breakdown of national morale. For this purpose, the concepts of *Agent, Patient,* and *Range* from the transitivity theory of Functional Grammar are used as analytical tools.

In section 1.2, the situation of the Japanese wartime press and the social reality behind it are described. In section 2, after defining the term 'Transitivity' and introducing concepts such as *Agent, Patient* and *Range*, I shall discuss briefly how the theory is relevant to political disclosure in general and to the analysis of Japanese wartime reporting in particular. For the exemplification in section 3, I shall examine data from newspaper texts to show how these analytic tools can be used in this type of text analysis.

1.2 Wartime press censorship in Japan

The study of language and politics falls within the domain of pragmatics in the sense that it analyses the 'relations between language and context that are **grammaticalized**, or encoded in the structure of a language' (Levinson 1983:9, original emphasis). Let us now look at the 'context' part of social reality that is encoded in a language structure.

With the outbreak of the Pacific War in December 1941, in fear of breakdown of morale, a great effort was made to bar unwanted news while exaggerating and scattering 'positive' information. The Information Bureau, which controlled newspapers' editing and management, gave orders to each newspaper office and news agency as follows:

1. Suspend the publication of news not permitted by the Imperial War Headquarters.

2. Do not issue news disadvantageous to us.

(*Genron Shoowa-shi* 1958:133)

Following the first air raids on Tokyo on 18 April 1942, the Information Bureau introduced a more specific censorship policy on war reports. The Bureau gave the following orders to newspaper offices. To summarise their main points:

1. Do not report casualties other than those officially announced.

2. Do not report casualties which would be likely to give tragic and pessimistic impressions to the public.

3. Do not describe our losses in detail.

4 Do not describe victims from air raids in panic and confusion.

[.....]

7. Do not write about rumours of the arrival of enemy planes.

8. Do not write any other thing which would be likely to benefit the enemy.

Censorship Report vol. 4

(*Asahi Shinbunsha-shi, Taishoo, Shoowa Senzen Hen:* 586)

Taketora Ogata, vice-president of the *Asahi* newspaper, later State Minister in charge of the Information Bureau, declared before the Diet, that 'an active press was essential for maintaining the fighting spirit of the people' (Asahi, 9 Sept. 1944). This meant that newspaper writers even had to report defeats as if they had been victories. The newspaper publishers abided by these policies throughout the war. With the spread of the war, the army and the Information Bureau increased censorship (*Asahi Shinbun sha-shi, Taishoo, Shoowa Senzen Hen*: 586-7).

Lee (1939) terms the rhetorical device of reporting 'defeat as victory' as *Card Stacking*, which is the strategy of concealing or distorting negative facts. It is one of the seven propaganda devices[3] that Lee identified as persuasive techniques to gain people's compliance without logic or evidence. As its literal meaning 'arranging cards' suggests, *Card Stacking* refers to the situation in which

> the persuader ... selects only the evidence and arguments that build a case (even falsifies evidence and distorts the facts). Although there is a deliberate attempt to distort the available evidence or to select only that which would fit the speaker's conclusions, the "evidence" is presented as being a fair and unbiased representation.
>
> (Lee 1939, quoted in Devito 1986:240)

The *Card Stacking* strategy is most vividly observed in Japanese newspapers' reports of Japanese defeats. It was one of the main factors, as far as the 'information war' was concerned, that contributed to the final defeat of Japan, misleading military and wartime leaders as well as the people in the wrong direction (Takeyama 1994:65-67).

These are the parts of social reality that were encoded in the language as we shall see shortly. To conform to these restrictions in war reporting, what linguistic devices were used to 'distort unfavourable reality'?

2. Relevance of the transitivity framework in political disclosure

2.1 Definition of transitivity

Halliday's transitivity theory provides a useful linguistic framework for analysing how undesirable reality is transformed. In Halliday's terms, transitivity plays a key part in the ideational function of the clause. The ideational function of a clause is concerned with 'the transmission of ideas': the role of the ideational function is to represent the patterns of 'experiences' or, in the broadest sense, 'processes', which typically include 'actions or events of consciousness and relations' (1985:53). The factors involved in this semanticization of processes in the clause are 1) the *process* itself, which is expressed by the very phrase in a clause, 2) the *participants* in the clause, which are normally realised by the noun phrases in the clause, and 3) the *circumstances* associated with the process, which are typically expressed by adverbial phrases or prepositional phrases (101-102). Transitivity is mainly concerned with the first two elements. To put is simply, the primary principle of transitivity is how to express 'who or what does what to whom or what?' (Simpson 1993:106). Transitivity is an important semantic concept in the analysis of the 'representation' of reality in that transitivity enables us to analyse the same event and situation in different ways. Although 'perceptually the phenomenon is all of a piece', when we represent a situation or event, subjectivity comes in because we must 'analyse it as a semantic configuration' based on our subjective point of view (Halliday 1985:101). Thus, a writer's selection of one pattern of grammaticalization or configuration from among alternative ways has the effect of foregrounding certain meanings (*process, participant*) while suppressing or concealing others. So transitivity has been a useful tool in uncovering the particular mind-style or world-view encoded in the structure of a language (see Halliday 1971, Burton 1982, Kennedy 1982).

2.2 Some participant functions: *Agent, Patient* and *Range*

The participant functions refer to the roles of entities that are directly involved in the process: the one that does, behaves or says, together with the passive one that is done to, said to, etc. In this research, the following functions in particular will be of relevance as analytic tools: namely, *Agent, Patient* and *Range*. These concepts are used here with the following definitions.

Agent: the entity that performs an activity or brings about a change of state to the affected entity. Cruse (1973) further describes agentivity, which characterises 'the definable sub-set of doers', as typically involving 1) volition, 2) active energy investment in carrying out the action, 3) responsibility or 'culpability'.

Patient: an entity perceived as affected or effected by the process; literally, an element that 'suffers' or 'undergoes' the process (cf. Blake 1994:68, Halliday 1985:103).

Range: the element (abstract NP) that indicates the range or scope of the process (see Halliday 1967:58-62, Halliday 1985:134-137 for the discussion of *Range*). Examples are: *games* in *They played games*, *a question* in *He asked a question*, *a favour* in *He asked a favour*, *the race* in *He ran the race*. The main function of *Range* NPs is to specify the extent of relevance of the process, which is insufficiently specified by the verb alone. For example, adding *a question* or *a favour* to the verb *ask* served to differentiate between two different processes denoted by the verb: *questioning* and *requesting*. The *Range* in a material process usually occurs in clauses in which there is only one directed participant: *Agent* ' only and no *Patient* '. The most notable thing about *Range* NPs is that semantically, they do not refer to participants at all and always consist of inanimate, abstract NPs. However, grammatically, *Range* NPs are treated as if they were participants (*Patients*.) So it is easy to confuse a *Range* with an 'apparent *Patient*' in the surface structure. The *Range* element cannot enter into paraphrases with *do to* or *do with*, whereas the *Patient* can, and it follows that a *Range* is a thing to which nothing is being 'done', so it does not have a resultative attribute as a Patient does (Halliday 1967:58-59, Halliday 1985:136). For example, in *They crashed the plane*, where *the plane* is the *Patient*, it can be said that 'they did something with the result that the plane was crashed'. But in *They showed courage*, where *courage* is a *Range*, it cannot be said that 'they did something with the result some change has happened to *courage*'. To put it simply, nothing actually changes as an affected participant in material reality, but it looks as if it did on the surface level. The way in which this 'grammatical manipulation' was exploited in Japanese wartime discourse will be discussed below.

2.3 Transitivity as applied to the discourse of Japanese wartime reporting

As discussed in section 1.2 on wartime censorship policy, Japanese defeats were reported in a highly distorted mode, whose rhetorical device Lee termed *Card Stacking*. It is most vividly observed in Japanese newspapers' reports of Japanese defeats. Applying Lee's ideas linguistically to Halliday's Functional Grammar, we can analyse the aforementioned participant functions ', *Agent*, *Patient* and *Range* in some examples of Japanese wartime newspaper reports, to observe the *Card Stacking* strategy.

Analysis

***Agent* and *Patient*:**
Even in defeats, the Japanese side is never described as the *Patient*, but always takes the *Agent* position as if they were the controllers of the whole situation. Only the enemy's side takes the *Patient* role (even in victory).

***Range*:**
Naturally, nothing is gained in defeats - since the defeated one is the 'loser'. However, to maintain the discoursal coherency of agentivity (continuously doing something positively even in defeat), a transitive sentence with an 'apparent *Patient*' was called for as if 'the Japanese side did something to the enemy positively'. To construct or to 'fabricate' an 'apparent *Patient*' linguistically out of reality in which materially it does not exist, *Range* is a useful linguistic tool since *Patient* as an independent entity and *Range* are often indistinguishable, on the surface at least (Halliday 1985:136). My main point here is that since V + NP prototypically denotes 'process + *Patient*', the structure 'V + *Range* NP' can be exploited to create an illusion that we have 'V + *Patient* NP'. A typical example of this in Japanese wartime reporting is *Kishin o nakashimuru koogun no shinzui o hakkishital*. (The Imperial army displayed its spirit which would make even the devil cry). This type of sentence appears frequently in reporting defeats in Japanese newspapers.

3. Exemplification

Now, let us see how these transitivity patterns are exemplificd in an illustrative text. For this purpose, I use a report of the fighting on Attu Island in May 1943 from *Asahi*, one of the leading newspapers in Japan. The Attu battle was the first major defeat admitted by the Japanese government. In it the entire Japanese garrison, numbering about 2,000 soldiers, died (Shillony 1981:96). Interestingly, even though this was a major defeat, with the consecutive use of *Agent* and *Range*, from reading the text it does not sound as if the Japanese side was defeated. War reports of defeats followed the same discoursal pattern as this throughout the war period in order to maintain national morale.

Note that in Japanese, a pro-drop language, a subject can be deleted, and *Agent* may be marked with the postposition *-wa* or *-ga* or may have no postposition at all. It is not a main concern here to go into grammatical detail about NP-*wa* and NP-*ga*, which are the so-called topic-marker and subject-marker respectively. Nevertheless, the important thing to stress is that, as in English, topic and subject NPs are typically but by no means always Agents, and that because of this there is a temptation for the reader to interpret NPs with *wa* / *ga* agentively.

- **defeat at Attu Island** (May 1943)

ABBREVIATIONS

		examples
AC	accusative particle	*- o*
COM	complementizer	*- to*
COP	copula	*- dearu, -da, -nari, -tari*
GEN	genitive morpheme	*- no*
NEG	negative morpheme	*- nai, -nu, -zu*
PASS	passive morpheme	*- re, -rare,*
PERF	perfect	*- ta, -ri*
TP	topic particle	*- wa*

<Banner Headline>

(1)

Attu too	*ni*	*koogun*	*no*	*shinzui*	*o*	*hakki*
Attu island	in	Imperial Army	GEN	spirit	AC	display
		Agent		*Range*		

Imperial Army shows courage on Attu Island

<Headline>

(2)

Yamazaki butaichoo	*ra*	*zen shoohee,*	*soozetsu,*	*yashuu*	*o*
Yamazaki Commander	others	all soldiers	magnificent	night attack	AC
Agent					

kankoo,	gyokusai,	teki	2 man	songai	6000	kudara-zu
carry out	scattering of the jewel	enemy	20,000	damage	6000	go down-NEG
	Range	*Patient*				

Commander Yamazaki and men venture magnificent night attack and lay down their lives, causing at least 6,000 enemy casualties

< Body >

(3)

Attu too	*shubibutai wa*	*5 gatsu 12 nichi ikoo*	*kiwamete kon'nan-naru*
Attu Island	garrison TP *Agent*	May 12th since	quite difficult

jyookyoo	*ka*	*ni*	*kahee*	*yoku yuusee-naru*	*teki*	*ni - taishi*
circumstance	under	in	soldiers	well superior	enemy *Patient*	against

kessen	*keezoku*	*chuu*	*no*	*tokoro*	*5 gatsu 29 nichi yoru*
bloody battle	continue	during	GEN	while	May 29th night

teki	*shuryoku*	*butai*	*ni - taishi*	*saigo no*	*tetsutsui o kudashi*
enemy *Patient*	main	garrison	against	final GEN	hammar AC pass-do *Range*

koogun	*no*	*shinzui*	*o*	*hakki*	*sen*	*to*	*ketsui-sui*
Imperial Army	GEN	spirit *Range*	AC	display	do-will	COM	determine -do

zenryoku	*o*	*agete*	*sooretsu-naru*	*koogeki*	*o*	*kankoo*	*seri.*
all effort	AC	raise	magnificent	attack *Range*	AC	carry out	do-PERF

The garrison on Attu Island had been continuing bloody battles against the superior enemy. On the night of 29 May, reaching a final decision to display the spirit of the Imperial Army, they made a gallant attack with might and main.

(4)

Jigo	*tsuushin*	*mattaku*	*tozetsu*	*zeein*	*gyokusai*
hereafter	Press	completely	stop	all *Agent*	scattering of the jewel *Range*

seru	*mono*	*to*	*mitomu.*
do-PERF	fact	Comp	recognise

After that, the correspondence from our troops completely stopped, and the press recognised that all had laid down their lives.

(5)

Shoobyoosha	*ni-shite*	*koogeki ni sanka*	*shi-e-zaru*
wounded or ill persons	COP-and	attack to participate	do-can-NEG

mono wa	*koreni*	*sakidachi*	*jiketsu*	*seri.*
people TP *Agent*	to this	precede	decide by themselves	do-PERF

Those who were wounded or sick and could not participate committed suicide preceding this final attack.

(6)

Waga	*shubibutai*	*wa*	*2000*	*suuhyaku*	*mee*
our	garrison	TP	2000	some	hundreds

ni-shite	*butaichoo*	*wa*	*rikugun taisa*	*Yamazaki Yasuyo*	*nari*
COP-and	commander	TP	Colonel	Yamazaki Yasuyo	COP

Our garrison, consisting of 2,000, was led by Commander Yasuyo Yamazaki.

(7)

Teki	*wa*	*tokushu*	*yuushuu*	*soobi*	*no*	*20000*	*ni-shite*
enemy	TP	special	superior	military weapons	GEN	20000	COP-and
Patient							

5 gatsu	*28 nichi*	*made-ni*	*atae-taru*	*songai*	*6000*	*o*	*kudara-zu*
May	28th	until	give-PERF	damage	6000	AC	go-down-NEG

The enemy, with superior military weapons, consisted of 20,000, and the damage we have inflicted on them by 28 May, at least 6,000.

(8)

(Correspondent Tanihagi reports)	*Shubi*	*suri*	*zeein*
	defend	do-PERF	all (people)
			Agent

kotogotoku	*gykusai*	*shi,*	*kakute*	*Attu too*	*wa*
consecutively	scattering of the jewel	do	thus	Attu Island	TP
	Range				

ee'en -ni	*rekishi no*	*ue-ni*	*shirusa-reru*	*koto*	*to*	*narimashi-ta* ...
forever	history GEN	on	mark-PASS	fact	Comp	become-PERF

All the people who had been protecting the island laid down their lives, and thus Attu Island will remain in history as a sacred place, where the Imperial Army showed courage.

(Asahi, 31 May 1943)

If we follow the basic principle of transitivity, 'who does what to whom', it can be concluded from this text that the Japanese side is described throughout as the *Agent*, and the processes are of the action type of 'intention'. The Japanese side is in control of everything they do or that happens around them. Nothing 'just happens' to them as a process 'outside their control'. In this discourse, the Agentive element always takes precedence over process. This can be observed in the sentences, as in (2) *Ventured a magnificent night attack* and (3) *Made a gallant attack with might and main*. Since *Range* NP always consists of an abstract NP, *Range* is often associated with metaphors. Examples include the sentence (1) *The Imperial Army shows courage* (with the connotation that it won the battles) with the same figure used in (3) and (8). The sentence (3) *Saigo no tetsutsui o kudashi* (passing the final decision), *saigo no tetsutsui o kudasu* literally means 'passing down the iron hammer' and is used metaphorically to mean 'make a final decision', comparing 'decisions' with 'hammers'. As mentioned earlier, since the *Range* element can easily be confused with an 'apparent *Patient*', it sounds as if the Japanese side did something or gained something even in their defeats. Also the negative images are effaced with euphemisms, as in for example, avoiding direct references to 'death'. *Gyokusai* (lit. 'scattering of the jewel') as in sentences (2) and (4), and *jiketsu* (lit. 'decide by oneself', meaning 'commit suicide') leave the impression that the soldiers chose to die and were not killed passively. He an 'overlexicalization' strategy is at work to avoid such socially sensitive 'core words' as *shiboo* (die). In this way, the lexical level also functions to increase the sense of 'agentivity' or 'positivity'. These functions all contribute to an overall conceptual framework which maintains a flow of *agentive* rhetoric for the Japanese side. Conversely, in spite of

being the victors, the enemy's side always takes the *Patient* position as in the sentences (2), (3) and (7). In these wartime discourses there is no instance in which defeat is openly acknowledged, unlike the following example from peacetime discourse, a report of a soccer game in the Berlin Olympic Games of 1936, in which Japan was defeated by Italy:

<Headline>

(9)

Nippon	*haitai*	*tai*	*Itaria*	*shookyuusen*
Japan	lose	against	Italy	soccer game
Patient				

Japan loses to Italy in soccer.

<Body>

(10)

Waga	*chiimu wa*	*zenhan*	*2-0*	*to*	*koohan*
our	team TP	first-half	2 versus 0	as	second-half
	Patient				

6-0	*to*	*ruidosa-re*	*8 tai 0*	*de*	*haitaishi-ta.*
6 versus 0	as	overtake-PASS	8 versus 0	at	lose-PERF

Our team was overtaken by the Italian team with a score of 2-0 in the first half, and 8-0 in the latter half, and was defeated.

(Tokyo Asahi ' 8 august 1936)

Japan is clearly expressed as *Patient*; what is significant is the adopting of the passive construction with the use of the passive morpheme *-re* in (10) to describe themselves. This kind of linguistic realisation was not found in the wartime 'official' discourse in Japan. The reason is simply that a different social reality requires different linguistic structures. In peacetime, the results of international encounters do not so seriously affect the course of a nation as in wartime. So there is no need to fabricate results and to deliberately construct a 'deviated world' in peacetime discourse; thus 'who does what to whom' is more clearly and directly expressed in the press in peacetime. This linguistic manifestation is the 'norm' from which a 'deviation' (wartime linguistic realisation) has diverged.

4. Conclusion

As proposed at the beginning, using the framework of Functional Grammar, we have seen how a 'deviated' world can be linguistically constructed. It is 'deviated' in the sense that the Japanese side is presented as actively 'shaping reality' despite the fact that they were in a 'passive' situation on the real battlefield. What the enemy did affected nothing. To confirm to the aforementioned press restrictions policy, which can be termed *Card Stacking*, a 'false' reality is shaped with these linguistic devices.

Here, I have presented how the language or style or a certain text creates its own 'fictional' reality (Burton 1982:211); i.e. how 'the most desirable' reality is constructed by language to respond to a certain social demand of a given period of time in history. This study attempted to explore the links which mediate between language structures and representations of reality. To systematise the networks that connect language structure and socially constructed reality requires a more integrative approach to semantics, pragmatics and sociolinguistics than the one I have given here, but I hope that I have at least outlined a way in which a more comprehensive analysis may be built on.

Notes

1. I would like to thank the following people for reviewing an earlier version of this paper and making valuable suggestions: Keith Mitchell, in particular, Phil Morrow, William Naoki Kumai and an anonymous EWPAL reviewer. My thanks also go to Susumu Oh-ishi for his help in analysing Japanese language. I alone am responsible for the shortcomings of this paper.

2. The definitions of propaganda vary. Lee (1939) quoted in Devito 1986:239 characterises it as 'organised persuasion; the spreading of ideas and values through a variety of persuasive devices'.

3. Lee's seven propaganda devices quoted in Devito 1986:239-240 include '*Name Calling, Glittering Generality, Transfer, Testimonial, Plain Folks, Card Stacking and Band Wagon*'.

4. Halliday uses the terms *Actor-Goal* instead of *Agent-Patient* respectively. However, in the interest of simplicity, it would be desirable to explain *Range* in contrast to *Agent* and *Patient*, treating these two roles, at least for my present purposes, as equivalent to Halliday's *Actor-Goal*. cf. 'The *Agent* will ... be equivalent to the *Actor* in goal-directed material processes' (Simpson 1993:93).

5. Palmer argues that whereas 'grammatical marking is essentially language-specific, ... notional or semantic characterisations are applicable to any or all languages' (1994:5).

6. Lexis plays a significant role, as well, in signalling discourse of ideology (see, for example, Carter 1987:92-96).

7. *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun (Tokyo Asahi* Newspaper) was renamed *Asahi Shinbun* in June 1941 following the amalgamation of local newspapers.

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ASPECTS OF REFERENCE IN FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE

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Abstract

This paper considers some problems of reference found in figurative language, especially in metaphor and metonymy. The particular effects communicated by figurative language depend to a large extent on reference to more than one concept, experience or entity at once. After considering examples of metaphor and metonymy in written text, I argue that the presence of multiple potential referents enriches the cognitive as well as the linguistic effects of written discourse. I consider the particular effects created by the development of reference over an entire narrative in Morrison's Song of Solomon, *in the light of Sperber and Wilson's Relevance Theory. The reader's task, after initial assignment of reference, is made more complex by the accumulation of potential referents. Each use of a term in a new environment creates a unifying factor for interpretation of the entire narrative. I conclude that the importance placed by Relevance Theory on the optimal relevance of the first reference assignment is attenuated if a writer develops a metonym or metaphor in this way.*

1. Introduction

1.1 The pervasiveness of figurative language

Figurative language is used widely in spoken and written discourse. Nevertheless, metaphor and other figures of speech have traditionally been regarded as no more than linguistic decoration, an aesthetically pleasing addition in the domain of poetry and rhetoric. The development of cognitive studies of figurative language has led to a reconsideration of the function of metaphoric and metonymic language. Recent research demonstrates that metaphor is no mere ornament of diction, but in both conventional and novel forms represents common mental processes (Ortony et al. 1979, Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Lakoff 1987, Steen 1994). Studies of literary discourse (Lakoff and Turner 1989, Black 1993) show that the use of metaphor carries a certain view of the world, created by the author but representing more than an invented, fictional reality. Metaphor throws light on the characters' cognitive processes, enhancing and facilitating the reader's understanding.

These studies do not, however, examine the differences between distinct kinds of metaphor, or between metaphor and metonymy. The latter figure, although recognised by rhetoricians since the time of Aristotle, is not always separated from metaphor by some researchers (Gibbs 1992, Steen 1994). In this paper I shall address the question of whether metaphor and metonymy can be satisfactorily distinguished, defining a number of shared and distinct features. Pragmatic theories of metaphor comprehension (Searle 1969, Bach and Harnish 1979, Sperber and Wilson 1986) have tended to discuss aspects of referentiality in figurative language with brief exemplification from restricted discourse in word, phrase and clause. I shall use material from a longer narrative (Morrison: *Song of Solomon*) to demonstrate that an apparently constant referent changes in its context of use.

2. Metaphor and Metonymy

2.1 Differences

The linguistic, semantic and cognitive features of metaphor and metonymy enable us to make a number of distinctions between them. Metaphor is found in all word classes (Brooke-Rose 1958), and frequently in non-equative clauses with a copulative verb, of which a typical example is *Sally is an iceberg* (Searle 1979). In this kind of metaphoric construction, the qualities normally associated with an iceberg (for example, distance, coldness) are predicated of a person. Metonymy is chiefly found in the noun phrase, being realised by nouns with their determiners and modifiers. It is usually a definite referring mechanism, as in *The ham sandwich wants his check* (Lakoff and Johnson 1980), although it is sometimes found in generic expressions, such as *From the cradle to the grave*. It is possible to classify a verb as metonymic, insofar as it is a verbalisation of the metonymic use of a noun. Bartsch (1987) notes the change of function of *carpet* as noun, referring firstly to a piece of material placed on the floor, secondly to the place where you stand when being ticked off by your boss, thirdly as a verb meaning to discipline someone.

An important difference (Black 1979, Lakoff et al. 1980, 1989) is that metaphor bridges two domains of experience or fields of knowledge, enabling transfer between domains which have hitherto been perceived and understood as separate, by a relation of analogy or resemblance. So, for example, the preposition *into* may indicate spatial location or direction in *He's gone into the garden*, and mental occupation in *He's really into soul music*. The noun complement of the prepositional phrase enables the domain of spatial location to be transferred to a location in the domain of musical experience, moving from physical to mental worlds. Metonymy, on the other hand, bridges two elements of one domain or field of experience, enabling inferential links to be made between material and abstract values of a term, but on the basis of contiguity rather than resemblance. A commonly used metonym such as *Watch out for that brown bomber jacket* uses clothes to stand for the wearer, but carries an implicature that the wearer has a certain number of overt non-material features worth noticing. Clothes are a salient feature of the person wearing them and can therefore stand for the person, albeit with further context-bound implicatures. This type of metonym is immediately understood to contain an attitudinal factor which the speaker wants to express covertly.

2.2 Shared features

Both metaphor and metonymy are found in prose and poetry as well as in everyday speech. Jakobson (1956) claimed that metaphor was the essential mark of poetic diction, metonymy the mark of realist prose, but Lodge (1977) shows that writers use both, either as linguistic features, or as organising principles of discourse. Lakoff and Turner (1989) demonstrate that where they are used together particularly rich literary effects are created. The figures can be novel, or conventionalised, as in the so-called "dead" metaphors such as *neck of the bottle*, and metonyms of place for power as in *Washington intervenes*.

A certain number of relational principles are common to the figures: both are substitutions of one term for another, achieve stylistic effects by the ellipsis of information, require shared knowledge in the sense that interpretation depends on choosing the most meaningful from among a range of potential referents. The writer using them assumes that the reader is able to carry out a process of contextualisation and inferencing. Both demonstrate that a single linguistic form may have more than one referent. Using these figures is a risk for communication, because of the gaps created between linguistic encoding, explicit and implicit semantic values, and cognitive effects. It has been claimed that the greater the number of potential referents, or the greater the number of ambiguities available to the reader, the richer and more valuable is the literary text (Soon Peng Su 1993).

3. Figurative language in written discourse

3.1 Word, phrase and clause

As is the case with literal expressions, metaphor and metonymy are to be found in various units of discourse, at word, phrase and sentence, and whole text levels. A single term, normally unambiguously referential in its literal sense, may be clearly figurative in its context of utterance; for example, wheel may be used to stand metonymically for a whole vehicle *(I've got my wheels tonight)* or metaphorically for a concept *(the wheel of fortune)*. In both these examples, a number of assumptions are made by the hearer. The conceptual notion of movement, the enabling power of a wheel to transport, hence to transform and be an agent of change, and the concept of circularity which enables return to the point of departure are included in the context of understanding. At this level, grammatical changes such as verbalisation occur, as in *to wheel in the next stage of the plan*. The change of function of the word occurs in either metaphoric or metonymic expressions, but in this case creates a clearly metaphorical extension of the referent. Since a figurative phrase contributes to the illocutionary force of the entire clause or sentence (Searle 1979) the metonymic use of wheels to stand for means of transport is limited to a physical domain. Its metaphoric extension in *to wheel in the next stage of the plan* enables the reader, by a process of inferential transfer between domains, to conclude that the designers of the plan are ready to implement it.

The need for an immediately available context to indicate the figurative force of a word is seen in the following example, which is a newspaper headline (Daily Telegraph, 18/11/94). The metonymic use of a place-name for a salient feature of that place allows the writer to attract the readers' attention, but knowledge of recent events in Ireland is a necessary enrichment, if disambiguation of the referent and correct assignment of reference are to be achieved.

3.2 Example: Dublin in Chaos

Interpretation of the phrase is grounded in a number of common assumptions. *Dublin* refers to the capital of the Republic of Ireland, but the word alone has no single referent. It may refer to the city of Dublin as a geographical entity and the *chaos* might therefore be caused by some general failure of infrastructure such as traffic lights, or electricity. Other readers may assume that some reference to social unrest is implied. Only those who know of a recent crisis in the government can assign reference correctly to the political turmoil caused by the resignation of the Prime Minister. The metonymic use of *Dublin* to stand for the Irish Government exemplifies the elliptical nature of metonymy. It is a bearer of information, its assertive force depends on knowledge of context, its multiple implicatures force the reader to choose between two or more potential referents. The writer assists communication by textual elaboration of the headline to *Dublin in Chaos as Reynolds Quits* and an explanatory first line to the leading paragraph: *Ireland faced fresh political turmoil last night after the Prime Minister, Mr. Albert Reynolds, resigned*. The reader rejects alternatives to the single correct reference because his interpretation is assisted by contextual explicatures. In the next section I shall discuss some of the problems caused by multiple reference, and consider some pragmatic theories which claim to account for how the reader or hearer solves the problem.

4. Some theories of reference

In seeking a theoretical explanation for the significance of reference in figurative language, we encounter the problem that a literal expression has a single, unique referent, and that literal language is the norm by which figurative language may be measured; the latter is considered aesthetically pleasing but deviant (Bartsch 1987, Wales 1989). I shall consider some theories of reference assignment which are less dismissive of figurative language (Searle 1969 and 1979, Bach and Harnish 1979) and then one which claims to be general enough to account for all language, whether literal or not (Sperber and Wilson 1986).

4.1 Speech Act Theory and attribution of reference in metaphor

In the interpretation of figurative language, the context of utterance, or the schema in which the speech act is produced, is of particular importance because of the gap between the apparent linguistic form of the terms, and their semantic value. Interpretation depends on a link, or bridge, being perceived in a shared context or schema. Double referentiality as in metaphor and metonymy is accommodated by Bach and Harnish (1979) who argue that the speech act schema (in their terms, a set of mutual contextual beliefs) applies to non-literal and indirect utterances as well as literal ones. Recognisable referents within a context are essential if the hearer is to make the correct inferences about the speaker's meaning and intentions in spite of opaque connections between what is said and what is meant. Thus, in the example given above, the use of *Dublin* with implied multiple referents is normal, and causes few problems if the reader shares at least some of the contextual beliefs of the writer, so that he is able to interpret the latter's intentions. Searle (1979) agrees that differences between sentence meaning and utterance meaning apply to figurative language just as much as to literal language.

If we analyse an idiomatic expression such as *to pay on the nail*, we note that the physical presence of *nail* is lost, and the understanding that immediate payment is meant is not clear from the surface form of the expression. The prepositional phrase *on the nail* has two different explicatures, one locative and literal, the other figurative and evident only when the phrase is conjoined in a clause with the verb *to pay*. Searle also claims that an utterance is interpreted by passing first through the literal meaning before reaching the figurative meaning. This argument is only partially supported by recent experimental evidence. Gibbs (1987) and Steen (1994) refute it, because their experimental evidence shows that metaphorical sentences are processed just as quickly as literal sentences, and there is no ground for assuming that literal meaning must be processed first. This refutation does not, of course, destroy the notion that a figurative expression may acquire meaning as part of the overall force of a speech act.

Speech Act Theory acknowledges that figurative language is interpretable in an environment defined by a known or shared context. It does not, however, enable the reader to prioritise among available choices when several equally suitable referents are available. I shall consider the adequacy of Relevance Theory in this respect.

4.2 Relevance Theory and reference

Relevance Theory (Sperber and Wilson 1986), loosely based on Grice's (1967) Co-operative Principle, proposes that a single powerful criterion, relevance, is the only one necessary for satisfactory interpretation of an utterance. The principle of relevance enables the hearer to assign reference correctly in cases of double or multiple reference, where there is more than one candidate for meaning or when all available candidates fit the Gricean criteria. When choice between possible referents is crucial, Wilson(1992) claims that the principle of optimal relevance is a preferable explanation of the process.

Optimal relevance is defined as the first interpretation reached by the hearer consistent with the principle of relevance, e.g. giving greatest contextual effect for least effort, and therefore 'excludes the possibility that the hearer will be expected to recover, process and accept the wrong interpretation before lighting on the intended one.' (Wilson 1992:175). Bearing in mind that linguistic complexity, accessibility of context and inferential effort are all part of the interpretation process, we can test this principle by applying it to the metonymic phrase *Dublin in Chaos*, which has a number of possible referents.

Assuming firstly that some contextually shared knowledge is available, i.e. the reader has knowledge of Ireland, then the first step is to assume that the only knowledge available to reader is the general awareness that Dublin is a city. He may then choose an interpretation which has no relevance in the situation which the newspaper currently wishes to highlight. But it may be satisfactory to the reader so he stops, having reached a position of optimal relevance. 'Having found an interpretation which satisfies his expectations of relevance in a way the speaker might manifestly have foreseen, he need look no further.

The first such interpretation is the only such interpretation, and the one the hearer should choose.' (1992:176). This may be valid from the reader's point of view but it is easy to imagine circumstances where further effort leads to an interpretation matching the writer's intentions.

Gibbs (1992) proposes a possible explanatory theory for metaphor comprehension in his claim that the process of interpretation is time-conditioned. Although comprehension, recognition and interpretation of non-literal language may happen quickly (thereby satisfying Wilson's minimal effort requirement), appreciation of the effect of the figurative language may take a long time, and by implication be worth the extra effort. This is potentially important in the area of longer, literary text where a metonym or metaphor is developed as one of the unifying factors of the text.

An alternative assumption might be that the reader shares a certain amount of knowledge with the writer, for example, that the Irish Labour party has withdrawn from the Coalition and that the survival of the Government is threatened. As Bach and Harnish (1979) predict, the choice among the possible referents will be less effortful, and will lead to an immediate interpretation with new contextual effects, or new information. But will it necessarily be correct? Confirmation is provided by further contextual knowledge (the leading paragraph of the article) which clearly identifies the referent as political power represented metonymically by the name of the city. Wilson claims that the correctness of the interpretation does not matter, but if effective communication of intention is considered to be the goal of the writer, Wilson's view appears to disregard a central condition of communication, correct reference assignment. Wilson adds (1992:176 footnote) that there is no guarantee that the outcome of a non-demonstrative inference process will be correct, seeming to imply thereby that correctness is less important than the reaching of an optimally relevant interpretation. Thus, the process rather than the prŏduct of the assignment of reference is highlighted.

4.3 Choosing between referents

In spite of Sperber and Wilson's (1986) insistence that their theory explains the interaction of speaker and hearer, Wilson (1992) seems to attach more importance to the hearer's inferencing processes. The writer's problem is that his intentions may be more complex. For example, he may have intended to highlight any one, or several, of the following: that Dublin is a large city, disruption of electricity leads to chaos in a city, the Irish government has problems, the Government is indecisive. Or his intention may have been to provide an eye-catching headline with a view to selling the newspaper. On the other hand, a metonym is generally understood despite ellipsis of information, so the writer knows it will effect relevant communication. According to Sperber and Wilson's general theory, this accounts for the use of a metonym instead of a lengthy expression such as 'The Irish government has fallen and as a result the political situation in the capital city is in a state described as chaos because no one knows what to do next', which would demand unjustifiable extra effort for its effect. But we are still left with the problem created by an elipted, figurative text: if there are two or more equally possible referents, how does the reader succeed in choosing correctly?

According to Wilson, the notion of contextual prominence or relative salience of the possible referents is a cognitive factor going beyond semantic explanations. Decisions as to reference assignment are founded on true, evidenced and informative grounds and achieved by retrieving an appropriate mental representation from memory by means of a short, plausible bridge. To these bases Wilson adds the idea that reference assignment is a process which is centred on rational expectations of relevance, through which the hearer is entitled to expect contextual effects from minimal processing effort. The reader, firstly, tests the most accessible information to see if it fits, and secondly, looks for another easily accessible context. Thus, the assignment of reference departs from a text-based solution and depends on the interaction between reader and writer, and the shared context which the reader explores.

This leaves us with the question of why a writer chooses to develop a term and change its referential value if the most accessible referent is the one intended. An initially literal use of a single word to convey a common concept can be developed into a complex series of figurative extensions which elaborate the concept and add other implicatures. I suggest in the next section that the writer of narrative fiction may exploit figurative language, in this case a metonym which evolves into metaphor, progressively. Wilson's principle of optimal relevance does not appear to account for the reader's need to add to the referent, redefine it in new contexts, and build on the initial effects. I shall consider the way in which Toni Morrison develops the term *earring* to mean, firstly, a single identifiable object, then by metonymic extension a person who wears it, and then by metaphoric extension transfers it into an abstract domain.

5. Referentiality in narrative fiction. Toni Morrison: *Song of Solomon*

5.1 The general significance of jewellery as adornment

The wearing of striking jewellery, as is well known, carries meaning over and above its literal manifestation of adding decorative elements to personal presentation. A reference to a piece of jewellery carries a wide range of contextual implicatures. Jewellery stands metonymically for the identity of the wearer, his or her attitude and lifestyle, the comparative degree of wealth or prominence, religious or social significance. This non-linguistic but overt communication extends across cultures, since most social groups use jewellery for identification of personal status. A writer has available a common concept which enables the reader to bridge contexts otherwise separated by a cultural gap. Toni Morrison highlights a special earring at several points in this narrative in order to construct a myth around the central character, Pilate. In doing so, she enables the reader who does not share knowledge or experience of the social context to access a world of experience represented by the object.

5.2 The use of 'earring' in *Song of Solomon*

This earring, made and worn by a woman called Pilate, stands explicitly for her personal identity, but also by implication her sex, class and race. Linguistically, it is realised as a noun phrase, often accompanied by definite determiners *(the, her, her mother's)* and modifiers *(wonderful, bright)*. It is decorative, ostentatious, has the attributes of brightness and sparkle, drawing attention to Pilate. This earring, like a phylactery, contains a special sacred word; the fact that Pilate wears it enhances her role and status, subverting the meaning of her poverty and marginalisation from society. Thus, it illustrates the move from literal to figurative, and by moving from one domain to another, from metonymic to metaphoric. The referent, apparently the same earring, is subject to change in the course of the narrative.

The earring is an essential part of Pilate's self-image, but it is also a focalising point for other characters' views of her. Her marginalised social status is visually represented by her black clothing, her physical awkwardness and her simple way of life. When the young Macon III, nicknamed Milkman, is brought to see her by his friend Guitar she has an overwhelming effect on the boy, for whom the earring, once seen, is the salient feature of an extraordinary woman:

> As they came closer and saw the brass box dangling from her ear, Milkman knew that what with the earring, the orange and the angled black cloth, nothing - not the wisdom of his father or the caution of the world - could keep him from her. (36-38)

At a point in the narrative when the relations between the protagonists have been established, Pilate's brother (Macon II) gives an account of the creation of the earring to his son Macon III. Pilate created the earring herself. It consists of a brass snuffbox which had belonged to her dead mother, containing a piece of paper on which her illiterate father (Macon I) had copied from the Bible the randomly-chosen name 'Pilate', the evidence of her ancestry and ethnic identity.

> Before they left the farm she'd taken the scrap of brown paper with her name on it from the Bible, and after a long time trying to make up her mind between a snuffbox and a sunbonnet with blue ribbons on it, she took the little brass box that had belonged to her mother. Her miserable days in the mansion were spent planning how to make an earring out of the box which would house her name. She found a piece of wire but couldn't get it through. Finally, after much begging and whining, Circe got a Negro blacksmith to solder a bit of gold wire to the box. Pilate rubbed her ear until it was numb, burned the end of the wire, and punched it through her earlobe. (167)

At this stage, she is a child, so the reader assumes that the making of the earring is to be taken literally. Nevertheless, we are already aware of a number of implicatures. Her choice of earring rather than necklace or ring ensures that her name will remain attached to her body for as long as she chooses. The stay in the house, with its intertextual allusion to the stay of Ulysses and his sailors with the enchantress Circe, represents the exile and imprisonment of the two children, deprived of the Edenic environment of their original home. Pilate's action of creating the earring affirms her identity and her rebellion against powerlessness. Definite determiners used in phrases - *the scrap of brown paper* and *the little brass box* - indicate that even before the flight, the paper and the box had great significance and were family treasures, whereas an initially indefinite object, *an earring* is created out of them. The lexical association of *planning, begging, whining*, together with the *gold wire* suggest that the box-earring will acquire the value of both container for treasure, and declaration that a unique treasure has been made. As metonym, it stands in the relationship of physical and mental contiguity to her sense of family and ancestry, her love for her dead parents, her strangeness and her personal identity as a vivid, flamboyant character with strong self-will. Pilate is identifiably different to all other people by the fact that she wears this single earring. The container comes to stand metonymically for the name written on the scrap of paper contained in it, and for the wearer. It has therefore a number of referents, and the reader must choose which one is salient in contexts of use.

The significance of the earring is increased at special moments of the narrative, notably at critical moments for Pilate's family history. One such moment is at the funeral of Pilate's granddaughter, Hagar. Pilate bursts into the service and asserts her authority, in order to express her grief in a traditional song. The effect of her entrance is foregrounded through the viewpoint of the others present, especially the mortician who is overwhelmed by the earring.

> She tilted her head and looked down. Her earring grazed her shoulder. Out of the total blackness of her clothes it blazed like a star. The mortician tried to approach her again, and moved closer, but when he saw her inky, berry-black lips, her cloudy, rainy eyes, the wonderful brass box hanging from her ear, he stepped back and looked at the floor. (317)

At this point, the earring acquires a number of new attributes which enhance its special prominence. It *blazed like a star*, it is *the wonderful brass box* against a background of *total blackness of her clothes* and *her inky, berry-black lips, her cloudy, rainy eyes*. The focalisation of the earring, twice placed in end-focus position in the description of Pilate, moves the reader's attention away from her dramatic physical appearance, as he remembers the figurative significance already created, and revises the referent which the word *earring* describes.

Finally, after Milkman has successfully found the family's original roots, and an explanation for the mysterious Sing, who was Pilate's mother, Pilate buries the earring with her father Jake's bones on a hill-top in the South. The earring is transferred from the physical domain to become a metaphor for the concept of family origins, but it is stolen by a bird. The earring's special identity disappears, at the moment when Pilate herself dies, thus destroying the figurative value of the object which has become an indefinite, devalued *something shiny*, a mere object.

'Should we put a rock or a cross on it?' Milkman asked.

Pilate shook her head. She reached up and yanked her earring from her ear, splitting the lobe. Then she made a little hole with her fingers and placed in it Sing's snuffbox with the single word Jake ever wrote .... Two of the birds circled round them. One dived into the new grave and scooped something shiny in its beak before it flew away. (335)

To conclude analysis of the linguistic form *earring* in this narrative, the apparently unique referent of the word is extended through metonymic and metaphoric elaboration so that it acquires new cognitive senses. The earring assumes new identities in the narrative. Concepts of power, leadership, charismatic personality, position in the family, the contrast between these and their loss, make this object an important means by which the reader reaches interpretation of the whole life of a poor black woman in the United States, which is not necessarily knowledge shared by all readers. By using an object first in its literal sense, then metonymically, Morrison adds to its value as a cohesive device. Metaphoric development by transfer into the domain of personal power accesses a new environment, transforming the character from a woman with rather strange personal characteristics into a model of the condition of her race. The earring, as an explicit and overt focalising device with multiple referential properties, enables the reader to interpret the significance of the character.

The data provided from *Song of Solomon* supports the conclusions reached in the analysis of the metonymic headline *Dublin in Chaos*. A wider dimension of interpretation is added as the reader's knowledge about the referent becomes more complex. Although Relevance Theory and the principle of optimal relevance are explanatory for brief, completed utterances, we need to look for complementary theories if we are to explain a writer's use of multiple referentiality in the context of longer narratives. In the case of metaphor and metonymy, interpretation and comprehension require more than an initial attribution of reference using the criterion of optimal relevance, if the reader is to perceive the full implicatures of multiple reference.

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RESEARCH TO INFORM ADVANCED FL COURSES INVOLVING TRANSLATION:AN IMMODEST PROPOSAL

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Abstract

In many classes the teaching of translation includes completion by students of a text profile classifying the text on dimensions such as purpose,formality,difficulty,emotional tone.The empirical basis for such classification is very shaky, and could be made more secure by three types of experiment.The first would involve checking validity and inter-rater reliability on the categories used; the second would test the statistical and logical (or psychological) independence of the various dimensions; the third would examine to what extent translators at various levels actually use text analysis when making decisions about translation.

1 Introductory Notes

This article is slightly unusual for EWPAL in that it does not describe research done or begun, nor even outline a programme which the writer himself proposes to undertake; instead it seeks to outline a whole area for research, seemingly almost unexplored, far too big for one person to explore, but demanding exploration if the teaching of advanced language courses involving translation is to be put on a sounder footing.I hope for three kinds of response from readers: suggested modifications to the proposed dimensions and research questions, information on any research already done in these areas, and new research in some of the areas outlined.

My interest is not primarily in translation theory but in foreign language teaching, which I engage with both as a classroom teacher and as a practitioner of empirical teaching-related applied linguistics (or *pédagogie de la langue*). If this bias or my ignorance has led to any distortion of translation theory, I look forward to being corrected.

2 The Content of Translation Classes

Translation forms a large part of many language courses world-wide. Usually - at least on the anecdotal evidence available - the activity seems to be conducted in a non-theoretical and non-communicative way: it is simply a vehicle for teaching vocabulary, grammar and idiom,or at best a pretext for providing useful input, and there is no systematic consideration of issues of principle.

Alongside these 'practical translation' classes there have been, for many centuries but especially in the last 50 years, attempts to systematise the study and practice of translation as an autonomous discipline, under a variety of names: "translatogy", "traductology", "translation studies", "translation theory", "science of translation" are five common variants in English alone. Except in a few specialist centres (mostly in Germany), however, these have had remarkably little direct influence on bread-and-butter translation classes in schools and universities. Even the relatively few academics who write about translation in books and journals seem usually not to employ their theoretical apparatus, at least not directly or recognisably, in their own classes. The situation may be analogous to that in literary theory, where many academics publish research wholly or partly based on theories such as structuralism, deconstructionism etc., but stick to non-theoretical 'practical criticism' with their own students. There may be several reasons for this apparent schizophrenia: my own literature reviews (see e.g. Parkinson 1995a) suggest, firstly, that many

books on translation are mistake-ridden and of poor quality, secondly, that German 'translation science' and other rival 'ologies' are narrowly historically situated and limited in various ways , (see Gentzler 1993), thirdly, that even good work under the label 'translation' may be of more interest for other disciplines than to translators (see e.g. Venuti 1992), and finally that many ideas in these books may, when empirical testing is attempted, be either falsified or revealed as unfalsifiable and therefore empirically empty.

Of more influence in the classroom than heavily theoretical publications have been books in another tradition, associated especially with Nida and Newmark: if EFL students at IALS have read anything on translation it is nearly always Newmark 1981 and/or Newmark 1988, whilst ideas in Nida and Taber 1969 are familiar at second hand through Newmark. Whilst writers in this tradition do not reject theory, their books are all more or else practical, based on the real work of professional translators (Nida in bible translation, Newmark in many fields including medicine), and can be used as a source of practical 'tips', especially for *teachers* of translation .

Research on teachers has often suggested that 'tips' are precisely what they want most: they resist innovations which involve fundamental re-appraisal of concepts, objectives and relationships, but embrace those which simply give them something else to do in the classroom. Thus, for example, pair work was a relatively popular and unproblematic innovation in certain classes in the 1970s and 1980s, whereas *differentiated* pair-work and diagnostic testing met far more resistance (see e.g. Brown et al. 1976, Parkinson et al. 1981, and others in the same series). It is perhaps not surprising, then, that one idea promulgated in the books of Nida and Newmark (and a few others) does crop up in most of those translation classes - at least of those represented by students and teachers who come to IALS - which are not merely a continuation of grammar by other means. This 'tip' or 'trick' is that of getting the students to analyse a text before translation, and to locate it on a number of scales or nominal-category sets. For example Newmark (1988) offers dimensions such as 'intention', 'style' (after Nida), 'readership', 'formality', 'generality/difficulty', 'emotional tone', 'attitude' and 'setting'. In my own classes I sometimes ask participants to fill in a proforma which , in its latest version (see Parkinson 1995b), includes the categories 'purpose', 'formality', 'register', 'generality/difficulty' and 'tone/attitude', with descriptions or examples for at least some of the choices on each scale. Systems already known to course participants, or developed by them for their own work as students, teachers or commercial translators, may be more or less elaborate , but almost all are broadly similar, which may be a tribute to the genius of Newmark, or may show that there are only a limited number of reasonable ways to classify a text, or something between the two.

3. Three Problems with Text Analysis Proformas

Although I am an ever more enthusiastic user of preliminary text analysis in translation classes, and receive positive feedback from participants, I have become aware of problems with the approach, falling into three categories.

The first problem is that of construct validity and reliability. Can everyone agree on how formal or difficult a text is, on its purpose and tone, and so on? Or more realistically, is there a reasonable measure of agreement between suitably qualified judges? And who decides what is reasonable, and who is suitably qualified?

I had already explored similar ground in Parkinson 1990, which sought native-speaker validation for judgements of literary categories, specifically deviance, as a guide for non-native learners on an English For Literary Studies course, and found a surprising lack of agreement. Failing to learn from this, I expected at least a fair measure of educated native-speaker agreement in the categorisation of most texts on most dimensions in Newmark's list or my own modification thereof, but in writing the draft of Parkinson 1995b I found this assumption to be over-optimistic. For example, I thought that a text in the *Daily Mail* criticising striking railway unions (Norris 1994) was a clear and uncontroversial example of the

purpose or intention of 'persuading', hoping to turn the reader (more) against the unions, who 'deliver a kick in the teeth to commuters', 'aim to cause the maximum possible disruption', 'turn the screw' and so on, whilst the employers, whose views are quoted or directly stated eleven times to the workers' none, are 'furious' and their 'patience is running out'. Readers of my draft agreed with my analysis but not with my conclusion. They thought that the article, and others of similar type in the *Daily Mail*, *Spectator* and other politically extreme publications, were rather examples of Jakobson's (e.g. 1973) 'expressive' function, which covers language which is speaker-oriented, produced to satisfy one's own needs, for example singing in the bath. The argument seems to be that readers of such papers do not need to be persuaded, that they share the writer's views, and that producing and consuming an attack on the class enemy is some sort of cathartic ritual. This is just one of many examples of different categorisations even by judges with rather similar academic, political and social values: if I invited *Daily Mail* readers to add their own judgements, I am almost certain that inter-rater reliability on most dimensions would be even lower.

The second problem - perhaps just an aspect of the first - is that the number of separate dimensions can sometimes make the analysis unwieldy and excessively time-consuming, and there may be doubts as to whether so many categories are really necessary. This is partly a question of construct validity, partly of practicality. Can one make a clear distinction between, say, generality and difficulty, or emotional tone and writer attitude, and even if one can do so is the game worth the candle? A typical system used by some of our students may have ten categories with about four choices in each, allowing about one million combinations: is it helpful to allow for all logical possibilities in this way, or do categories usually co-occur in such a way that one can identify,say, fifty 'profiles' of common combinations?

The third problem began to crystallise for me when an IALS student wrote about her translation course at home: 'we do all this text analysis, we fill in the tables from Newmark, but then we don't use it. We just translate the text without using this, in the way we always have done'.I have since found that such perceptions are common, at least with reference to the few overseas courses about which I have been able to inquire. The smugness which this engendered lasted for only a few weeks, to be replaced by the sudden thought that other students might be telling their teachers at home exactly the same thing about my course! To be sure, I believed that my colleagues and I had integrated text analysis and translation as a seamless whole, and that we used (or, more usually, helped participants to use) ideas from the former in the latter, but memories of some of my own recent translation classes suggested that this reference back was rarer and less systematic than I might like to admit.

My next question was 'Does it matter?'. Perhaps text analysis before translation is and needs to be no more than a pedagogical 'tip' or 'trick', a convenient way to get a class started, establish the right atmosphere, learn some general language, introduce the text slowly and comfortably?Perhaps it has very limited effect on each individual decision at the translation stage? I did not convince myself, because I could think of numerous cases where I thought general text analysis should influence a local translation decision, but perhaps one should not teach this way, perhaps students should try translating 'cold', or at most after a general reading and discussion of vocabulary and content, and move from the local to the global rather than vice versa? I do not like such a conclusion, but am persuaded that this problem area, like the other two, is one in which 'research is needed' is more than a cliché.

4. What form should research on these problems take?

All teachers are informal researchers, and now that I have formulated the problem I shall inevitably seek solutions by, as a minimum, informal evidence-gathering and reflection. A more formal research study, especially one which related pedagogic practice to the behaviour of commercial translators and of monolingual text consumers, might be done as a large-scale enterprise involving several different languages and educational or translation contexts. There follow some suggestions on how the three problem areas identified above might be illuminated by such research.

(i) To investigate construct validity, texts in each language studied should be read by (at least 20?) native-speakers and advanced non-natives, who should be asked to classify them using dimensions and categories such as the following:-

(primary) purpose:	informative, persuasive, phatic, expressive..... (Jakobson e.g. 1973)
formality:	officialese - official - formal - neutral - informal - colloquial - slang - taboo (Newmark e.g. 1988)
register:	general, astronomy, chess etc.
generality/difficulty:	simple - popular - neutral - educated - technical - opaque (Newmark e.g. 1988)

The experiment could be widened in two ways: by expanding the sample to include e.g. qualified translators, linguistics lecturers, translation teachers, other academics, office workers (20 of each?) and/or by giving several equivalent groups different amounts of guidance and examples. The hypothesis would be that classification on most categories would not be reliable for all groups under all conditions, but would become more reliable as group expertise and amount of guidance increased. This would not prove the validity of the categories, as research consumers might choose not to accept the authority of the 'experts' and/or the validity of the guidance, but it would provide a factual basis for decision-making.

(ii) The issue of 'too many dimensions' could be explored in several ways. A crude sociometric approach would be through factor analysis or even simple correlation: if two dimensions have very high correlation, it may not be worth separating them. Secondly, researchers could modify or invent texts with abnormal combinations of, say, 'writer attitude' and 'emotional tone', and test whether subjects are in fact willing to categorise them independently. Thirdly, subjects could be asked how far a text with such a combination is

(a) imaginable in principle and

(b) possible or likely in the real world.

Many other experiments on these lines are easily proposed.

(iii) The issue of whether and how text analysis can in practice affect translations is the biggest of the three, and only a small number of the many promising research channels will be mentioned here. The translation behaviour of professional translators, teachers and students who use text analysis proformas could be explored by questionnaires, interviews, think-aloud protocols (real-time and recall) and inspection of the written product. In the realms of invented or modified texts, paragraphs for translation could be presented to different groups with a different preceding paragraph (e.g. formal or informal, 'warm' or 'cold' language), or with different background information ("this is part of a love letter/religious sermon") and the effects, if any, measured.

5. Conclusion

Hatim and Mason (1990) claim that ' There is a real sense in which it is translators who are providing us with the evidence for what we know about translating.' (p. xi) but admit that 'studies in this area are still in their infancy.' (ibid.). The present paper is based on the belief that we have very little secure knowledge of what translators at various levels actually do, and that it is high time we began to find out.

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